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THE WORKS AND LIFE OF
CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE
GENERAL EDITOR: R. H. CASE

TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT

THE WORKS AND LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

General Editor : R. H. CASE

THE LIFE OF MARLOWE and DIDO, QUEEN OF CARTHAGE. By C F. TUCKER BROOKE.

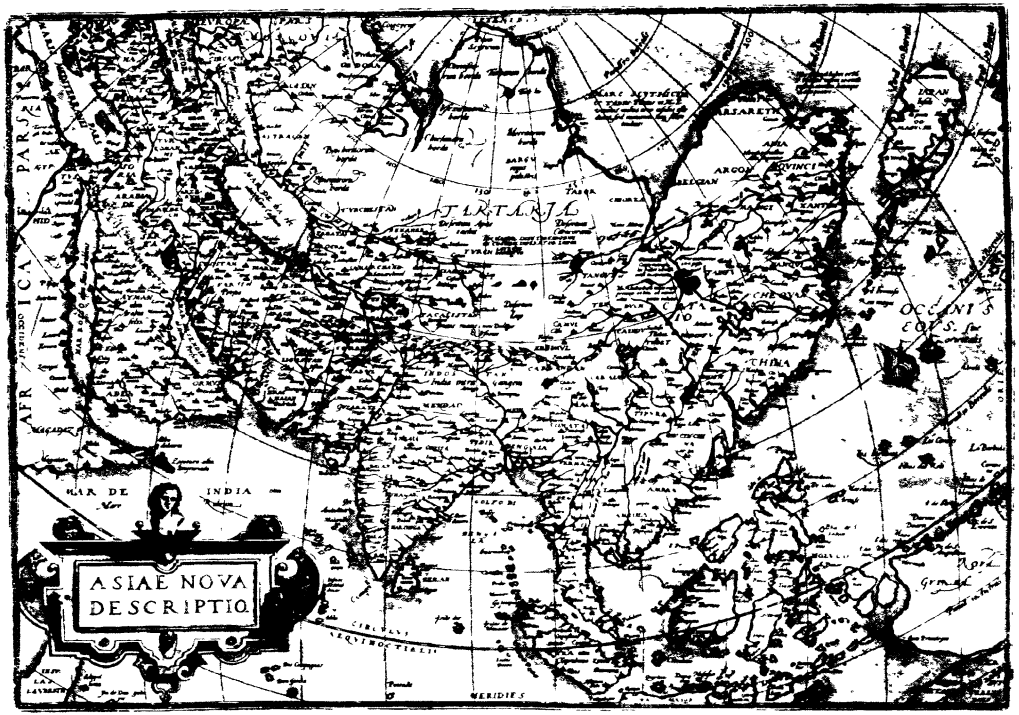
TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT, I and II. By UNA ELLIS-FERMOR.

THE JEW OF MALTA and THE MASSACRE OF PARIS. By H S. BENNETT.

EDWARD II. By H. B. CHARLTON.

DOCTOR FAUSTUS. By F. S BOAS.

POEMS. By L. C. MARTIN.



MAP OF ASIA

From Ortelius — Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 1584

TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT

IN TWO PARTS

EDITED BY

UNA ELLIS-FERMOR

WITH TWO MAPS



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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

IN the present edition the text of the 1590 octavo (O_1) has been followed as closely as is consistent with a readable, modernized text, but it may be remarked in passing that modernized texts are inevitably unscientific to some degree. Readings from the other early editions or conjectures have only been substituted when they seemed necessary for the elucidation of passages that could not otherwise be explained. In some notably corrupt passages, such as I. v. ii. 121–4, it has seemed better, however, to allow an imperfect reading from 1590 to stand in its entirety and to explain variants and conjectures, whether helpful or not, in the footnotes. In the collations appear only the main variants, though these are, it is hoped, complete; mere differences of spelling where no other differences appear to be involved, have not been represented. The following procedure has been adopted; where, in the collations, a reading appears thus: '*ships*] *ship* O_2.' it means that all early editions read *ships* (or its equivalent in one form or other of Elizabethan spelling), as given in the text, except the edition of 1593 (O_2) which reads *ship*. Such conjectures or emendations as have not been embodied in the text are, in general, mentioned in the footnote upon the line in question.

It is difficult to decide how far the spelling and punctuation of the 1590 octavo should be retained in a modern edition and, whatever system be adopted, a certain amount of inconsistency and at worst an occasional *petitio principii* is unavoidable in respect of the form chosen for incorporation in the text and of the amount included in the collations,

I have retained the spelling of the original in the majority of proper names (and in a few other cases, to which reference is made in the notes). Thus, words such as Elisian, Moroccus, Alcaron, which frequently appear also during this same period in the form Elysium, Morocco, etc., are represented here by the spelling of O_1; to alter them would, moreover, make a slight difference in the sound of the line, and, though we have no reason to assume that Marlowe saw the edition through the press himself, it seems safer to retain a form which might represent his intention. In the case of final 'ed' and similar syllables, where elision appears to occur indifferently in the old texts, the reading of O_1 has been followed. Where elision ('d, 'st, etc.) is used there, it appears also in the present text and when the full forms are used there they are expressed in such modern equivalents as most nearly represent the original. The metre of the line must determine, as in many similar cases, whether these variable, unstressed vowels are to be given syllabic value or not.

Capital letters appear to be used in the octavos to give additional emphasis to words charged with emotional significance, but they have been eliminated in modernizing.[1] Their inclusion, in the absence of the congruent spelling and punctuation, would undoubtedly prejudice the reading rather than assist it. In a few cases they have been retained (with perhaps doubtful advantage, even so!) where their occurrence seemed so obviously to modify the significance of a phrase as to be best represented by the use of the same convention to-day. The rhythmic punctuation presents a difficult problem and that of the original has been discarded in favour of an attempt to present, according to modern conventions of grammatical punctuation, the meaning I believe Marlowe's sentences to contain. The original

[1] For the part played by capital letters in a sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century text, see P. Simpson: *Shakespearian Punctuation*, 43 (Oxf. 1911). Some interesting examples of the work of the printer of *Tamburlaine* (O_1) will be found in Part I, II. ii. 71–3 and II. iii. 14–23.

punctuation is, I think, rhythmical; that is, the lines are pointed for the actor or speaker, not punctuated for the grammarian. Thus, commas, semicolons and even colons occur sometimes where there is no logical pause (almost as a stage direction to the actor telling him to emphasize a significant word) and full stops where modern convention would adopt a comma. The use of the sign ⁝ (or ⁝) for the question-mark and exclamation mark indifferently is common and in a few cases there is some slight difficulty in determining which of the modern signs should be used. One or two passages pointed according to the original will serve to show the difference between the two systems and to support the previous remarks.

1. Our soules, whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous Architecture of the world:
And measure every wandring plannets course.
Still climing after knowledge infinite,
And alwaies mooving as the restles Spheares.
Wils us to weare our selves and never rest.
Until we reach the ripest fruit of all.
That perfect blisse and sole felicitie.
The sweete fruition of an earthly crowne. [Part I, II. vii. 21–9]
2. I conquered all as far as Zansibar,
Then by the Northerne part of Affrica.
I came at last to Graecia, and from thence
To Asia,(i) where I stay against my will,(ii)
Which is from Scythia,(i) where I first began,(ii)
Backeward and forwards nere five thousand leagues,
Looke here my boies,(i) see what a world of ground,(ii)
Lies westward from the midst of Cancers line,
Unto the rising of this earthly globe,
Whereas the Sun declining from our sight,
Begins the day with our Antypodes:
And shall I die, and this unconquered ⁝
[Part II, Act v, Sc. iii. 139–150]

Noteworthy in the first of these passages are the frequent long pauses which give weight and emphasis to the thought, the actor's voice dwelling upon the significant words, which,

as usually with Marlowe, tend to fall at the ends of the lines (lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9.)[1] Individual words are also isolated here and there; 'soules' by the succeeding comma, 'Architecture' and 'Spheares' by the capital letter.[2] The second passage is of a different character. Tamburlaine's emotion hurries him on and the stopping is relatively light; commas alone are used,[3] with the exception of the emphatic pauses to emphasize the words 'Affrica' (line 2) and 'Antypodes' (line 11). The octavo seems, on the whole, to be an example of judicious rhythmical pointing and it is with great regret and some misgivings that an editor attempts to translate it into the relatively less significant modern form.

I have kept the old stage directions when they occur, rather than those of subsequent editors, for their picturesqueness and, in general, their succinctness. There seems no need to discard these indications of Elizabethan stage procedure in favour of the more conventional modern forms, especially in a play in which they are relatively full and graphic. When it has been necessary to supply one not given in the old texts I have taken that of Dyce or Wagner. This system has been applied also to the titles of the persons and the prefixes of lines; where the old version needed elucidation, this has been added in a footnote.

I am deeply indebted to several friends without whose assistance certain parts of this work could not have been attempted; to Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke for the readings of the 1597 octavo and for the invaluable aid of his conclusions on the relations of the four texts; to Dr. W. W. Greg for the loan of books and for advice on many bibliographical details and to Professor R. H. Case, the general editor of the series, for guidance and suggestions

[1] See Simpson, 31, 35.
[2] Simpson, 7, 43, i.
[3] The commas are used in various ways; many of those in the second quotation are peculiar to Elizabethan pointing and will be explained by a study of the following sections of Mr. Simpson's book: 2 (l. 7 (i)), 6 (ll. 6, 8), 7 (ll. 3, 4 (i), 5 (i)), 10 (l. 7 (ii)), 11 (ll. 4 (ii), 5 (ii), 9, 10).

on many points. For further suggestions and criticism, for checking of translations, notes and text, I wish to thank Miss D. Tarrant, Miss E. Seaton, Monsieur R. Pruvost, Miss J. H. Perry, Miss E. Boswell, Miss H. Northcott and Miss P. Ashburner. For permission to reprint, in Appendix D (p. 302), a portion of Chap. XII of Mr. Guy le Strange's *The Embassy of Clavijo* in the series *Broadway Travellers*, I wish to thank the publishers, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. Finally, I should like to acknowledge the suggestions made in the discussion of the play by the students of my seminar class and the unfailing courtesy and assistance rendered by the officials of the British Museum Library.

U. M. E.-F.

St. John's Wood,
London,
April, 1930

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

SINCE 1930, the date of the first edition of this volume, the body of critical writing and research in the field of Marlowe studies has grown more rapidly than in any other period of equal length. A glance at the list of books and articles in Appendix E will show not only the number but the substance of these works, which culminate in John Bakeless's two-volume biography, *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe* (1942), and in Paul H. Kocher's detailed analysis of certain aspects of his mind and thought (*Christopher Marlowe: A Study of his Thought, Learning and Character*, 1946). A large proportion of this material treats critically of Marlowe's art in general and a further considerable part of purely biographical findings; only a limited section, as might be expected, adds to our

knowledge of individual plays or to the elucidation of problems of text, date, source, authorship or interpretation. But *Tamburlaine* has its full share of these contributions, whether they occur in notes or articles or in the course of larger works of general provenance. It is the duty of an editor to take note of these findings in so far as they affect the understanding of the content and background of the play and I have endeavoured to do this by references at relevant points in the Introduction and footnotes and by listing the chief contributions to factual knowledge in the appropriate appendix. One specific detail, representative of certain others, may most fittingly be mentioned here. The discovery, by Mr. Thomas C. Izard, of the close resemblance between Marlowe's and George Whetstone's versions of the Tamburlaine story (*The English Myrror*, 1586), has caused certain scholars to assume that we can therefore discard not only Fortescue but the large number of other writers whose works have hitherto been regarded as partial or potential sources of Marlowe's play. But a further consideration of the evidence indicates certain likenesses between *The Foreste* [1] and *Tamburlaine*, which lead us to believe that Marlowe had certainly read Fortescue also, and I have not therefore removed the extract from its place among the quoted sources, but have contented myself with adding a corresponding quotation from Whetstone in Appendix C. Furthermore, a lifetime's study of the processes of Marlowe's mind convinces me that his method with his sources (as, we are now beginning to realize, was Shakespeare's also) was that of a keen and passionate reader with the tenacious memory of genius; in Marlowe's case we may, I think, presume also the instincts of a scholar. Such a man does not content himself with the study of one source only in searching for all possible knowledge of a character, historical or traditional, that has set his imagination on fire.

And, in matters which can be referred wholly to the taste

[1] See note to Appendix C and to I. v. ii. 5.

or judgement of readers or editors, I have found still less reason to change my views, though I acknowledge gratefully the stimulus and matter for thought afforded by the work, throughout this period, of Bakeless, Boas, Brooke, Eccles, Greg, Kocher, Tannenbaum and others. In their discoveries, elucidations and interpretations, those of us who have been concerned for the past forty years with Marlowe studies on both sides of the Atlantic find matter for satisfaction—even, it may be—for elation. One specific debt remains to be acknowledged—that which I owe to Mrs. Walter Bullock for detailed assistance in the preparation of the second edition.

U. E.-F.

London,
1950

MAPS

ASIA *Frontispiece*

AFRICA *Facing page* 178

Reproduced from Ortelius: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1584

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE v

INTRODUCTION 1

I EARLY EDITIONS 1

II DATE OF THE PLAY 6

III AUTHORSHIP OF THE PLAY 11

IV SOURCES OF THE PLAY 17

V THE STAGE HISTORY OF *TAMBURLAINE* . . . 61

THE FIRST PART OF TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT . . . 63

THE SECOND PART OF TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT . . 179

APPENDICES :

(A) THE TEXT OF *TAMBURLAINE* I AND II . . . 281

(B) LATER EDITIONS 283

(C) FORTESCUE'S FORESTE · CHAPTER XIV ; AND WHETSTONE'S *ENGLISH MYRROR* 286

(D) EXTRACTS FROM OTHER ACCOUNTS OF TAMBURLAINE . 302

(E) SHORT BOOK LIST 307

INDEX TO PROPER NAMES 315

GENERAL INDEX 319

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN COLLATIONS, ETC.

O_1 . The octavo edition of 1590. See *Introduction I* and *Appendix A*.
O_2 . ,, ,, ,, 1593. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
O_3 . ,, ,, ,, 1597. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
O_4 . ,, ,, ,, 1605–6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
Rob. . Robinson's edition of 1826. See *Appendix E*.
Wag. . Wagner's ,, ,, 1885. ,, ,, ,,
T.B. . The Oxford Edition (1910), by C. F. Tucker Brooke.
(For other references in collations and footnotes where the name of the author only is mentioned, see *Appendix E* under the name.)
N.E.D. *The New Oxford English Dictionary.*
T.L.S. *The Times Literary Supplement*
O Bodleian Library
Hn. Huntington Library
L British Museum Library

TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT

INTRODUCTION

I

EARLY EDITIONS

THE two parts of *Tamburlaine* have come down to us in four editions; nine complete copies and two fragments. The earliest edition, of which there is one copy in the Bodleian Library and one in the Huntington Library, is that of 1590 (O_1). The title-page runs: 'Tamburlaine | the Great. | Who, from a Scythian Shephearde, | by his rare and woonderfull Conquests, | became a most puissant and migh | tye Monarque. | And (for his tyranny, and terrour in | Warre) was tearmed, | The Scourge of God. | Devided into two Tragicall Dis | courses, as they were sundrie times | shewed upon Stages in the Citie | of London. | By the right honorable the Lord | Admyrall, his servantes. | Now first, and newlie published. | [Device] | London. | Printed by Richard Ihones: at the signe | of the Rose and Crowne neere Hol | borne Bridge. 1590.' This volume is an octavo in Black Letter, (A—K_8 $L_{2r.}$) and the Huntington copy, upon which the present text is based, is in a better state of preservation than the Bodleian copy, in which the margins have been cut down so that the ends of lines are occasionally missing,[1] or the pages mutilated so that the last lines on

[1] Part I, Act III, Sc. iii, ll. 27, 28; 30, 36, 40, 44, 47. Part II, Act II, Sc. i, ll. 2, 3, 4.

each side of a leaf are gone,[1] while in one case a whole leaf, K_3, is torn out.[2]

The second edition is that of 1593, O_2 (since 1850 generally referred to as 1592), an 8vo in Black Letter (A—$I_{8v.}$) of which the only copy is in the British Museum Library. The title-page runs like that of the O_1 (with slight variations in spelling only) for the first half and then continues: 'The first part of the two Tragicall dis | courses, as they were sundrie times most | stately shewed upon Stages in the | Citie of London. | By the right honorable the Lord Admirall, | his servauntes. | Now newly published. | [Device] Printed by Richard Iones, dwelling at the signe of | the Rose and Crowne neere Holborne | Bridge. 1593.' In spite of the implication in the words 'The first part', the second part has no separate title-page but only, like O_1, a half-title.[3] The type is smaller and the lines more closely set than those of O_1, but apart from the somewhat cramped effect of the close type, it is an eminently readable copy. The last figure of the date on the title-page is imperfect; if a 2, it lacks the serif common to the other 2s of the fount, and if a 3, it lacks the lower lobe. It has been customary since Dyce's edition of 1850 to refer to it as the 1592 edition and scholars such as Wagner have explained the discrepancy by suggesting that the 2 had been artificially converted into a 3. But the older commentators from Langbaine to Broughton have, as I have shown elsewhere,[4] consistently referred to a 1593 edition and never to a 1592. The older nomenclature has been reverted to in the present edition.

The third edition, that of 1597, O_3, though known to J. P. Collier,[5] was lost to sight until the sale of the Newdigate Library in 1920, when it passed into the Huntington

[1] Part I, Act IV, Sc. iii, ll. 42–6 and Sc. iv, S.D. 'with others'—l. 2.

[2] The Hn. copy is on the whole a clear and readable text with relatively few imperfectly inked or broken words or letters. In Sig. G and one or two other sheets the printing on one page has made that of the previous page obscure.

[3] See Part II, *Heading*, p. 182. [4] See my note in T.L.S., June 1929.

[5] See the note upon the 1597 text which he sent to Cunningham and which Cunningham reproduced on p. 368 of his edition of Marlowe's works.

Library and has since been available for reference.[1] It is also a Black Letter octavo (A—L_8). The title-page runs: 'Tamburlaine | the Great. | Who, from the state of | a shepheard in Scythia, by his | rare and wonderful Conquests, be | came a most puissant and mightie | Monarque. | As it was acted: by the right Ho | norable, the Lord Admyrall | his servauntes. | [Device: McKerrow, No. 283][2] | Printed at London by Richard Iohnes: at the Rose | and Crowne, next above St. Andrewes | Church in Holborne. 1597.' The second part has, again, only a half-title,[3] but 'a portrait of Zenocrate fills the blank half-page of F_5 (recto) at which Part I closes. This portrait is peculiar to the 1597 edition[4]'. The portrait of Tamburlaine common to all except the 1605 edition appears in this text on the verso of F_5. This is the least clear and the hardest to read of all the texts; blots, blind and broken letters are frequent.

The fourth edition has survived in at least five complete copies of its two parts (in the Bodleian, British Museum, Huntington, Dyce and White libraries), in further copies of single parts, Part II in the Library of J. L. Clawson and a mutilated copy of Part I wanting the title leaf and A_2, in the Huntington Library.[5] It consists also of two Black Letter octavos,[6] Part I, 1605 (A—I_4), Part II, 1606 (A—I_{4v}) with a separate title-page for the second part.

[1] In a note upon this copy Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke says that it is bound with J. Sylvester's translation, *The Maiden's Blush* (1620), that the title-page bears the signature 'Mary Leigh', and that the verso of the last leaf, l. 8, has a MS. note 'Radulphus Farmar est verus possessor huius libri'.

[2] See R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices* (1913).

[3] See the note on Part II, *Heading*.

[4] Note by Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke.

[5] See below under 'quarto' of 1590.

[6] These two parts have been generally referred to as quartos, but the position of the chain lines and the water-marks shows that the original sheet has been folded as an octavo. The signatures (in fours) and the relatively large size of the volume have caused it to appear a quarto. In the B.M. copy of Part II the outer forme of sheet H has been smudged (H, $H2_v$, H3, $H4_v$) while the rest of the printing is clear. These facts suggest quarto imposition with octavo folding. As, strictly, the folding of the paper is the determining factor, it seems preferable to refer to the volumes as octavos.

These then run: 'Tamburlaine the | Greate. | Who, from the state of a Shepheard | in Scythia, by his rare and | wonderfull Conquests, became | a most puissant and mighty | Monarque. | [Device: McKerrow, No. 270.] | London | Printed for Edward White, and are to be solde | at the little North doore of Saint Paules | Church, at the signe of the Gunne. | 1605' and 'Tamburlaine the | Greate. | With his impassionate furie, for the | death of his Lady and Love faire Zenocra | te: his forme of exhortation and discipline | to his three Sonnes, and the manner of | his owne death. | [Rule] | The second part | [Rule] | [Device] | London | Printed by E.A. for Ed. White, and are to be solde | at his Shop neere the little North doore of Saint Paules | Church at the Signe of the Gun. | 1606 |.'[1]

These four octavos are the only editions known to-day, but some of the older commentators have references to two which appear at first to be different editions but resolve themselves upon examination into one or other of these four. Dyce, Hazlitt, Cunningham and Bullen have references to a quarto of 1590, supposed to survive only in its title leaf and first subsequent leaf which were 'pasted into a copy of the First Part of Tamburlaine in the Library at Bridge-water House; which copy, excepting the title-page and the Address to the Readers, is the impression of 1605'.[2] It was assumed by Hazlitt that the play had thus gone through two editions within the year 1590.[3] Wagner, in the preface to his edition in 1885,[4] showed that this title leaf and A_2 were no other than fragments of the already known 1590 8vo, the two copies corresponding exactly in position, size of letters, spacing, etc. In 1926 the *Short Title*

[1] This is, on the whole, a clear and legible edition in a type of approximately the same size as that of 1590 and 1597, but averaging five or six more lines to the page.

[2] A. Dyce, *Works of Christopher Marlowe* . . . (1850–1858).

[3] W. C. Hazlitt, *Handbook to Early English Literature* (1867), p. 373, under *Tamburlaine* (a).

[4] *Marlowes Werke* (*Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe*), I, *Tamburlaine* v. A. Wagner. Heilbronn, 1885.

Catalogue, in addition to the two copies already mentioned, entered under No. 17424 'Tamburlaine the Great. [Anon.] P^{t}. 1, 8° Sig. A—I4, *R. Jhones*, 1590' . . ., thus reviving the myth in a slightly modified form, the quarto becoming a previous octavo. In point of fact there is, as Wagner pointed out, one 1590 edition only, which we now know to exist in the two complete copies described above and this fragment of a third.

The other case of duplication is that of the 1592/1593 8vo of which mention has already been made,[1] which, owing to the dubious condition of the date on its title-page, is generally cited as a 1593 edition in references before 1850 and as a 1592 edition in those between 1850 and our own day. As I have shown elsewhere,[2] there is little likelihood that these two sets of references imply the existence, at any time, of a 1592 and a 1593 edition.[3]

The relations of three of these texts were examined carefully by A. Wagner in the Preface to his edition and there is little to add to his conclusions except in so far as they are affected by the addition of the octavo of 1597 which was unknown to him. Briefly, the relations may be summed up thus: the surviving 1590 octavo appears to be the original edition upon which all the others are more or less directly based; none of them appear, by their readings, to suggest the existence of another and lost early edition which would rival the 1590 octavo, O_1, as a foundation for the later texts. The text of O_1 is by no means devoid of errors and misprints, many of which all three of the later texts faithfully reproduce. O_2 thus appears to be based directly on O_1, introducing a large number of fresh errors and very seldom correcting those of any importance in its predecessor;[4] O_3 goes back, not to O_2, but to O_1, coinciding

[1] See *supra*, p. 2.

[2] See T.L.S., June 1929.

[3] Allusions to a 1600 4to also occur in MS. notes by Oldys in Langbaine (B.M.C. 57.1.12 and C.28.g.l.).

[4] Wagner says (op. cit., p. xxv), 'In der Tat ist B (= 1593) nichts anderes, als ein Abdruck von A. (= 1590), allerdings ein durch eine grosse Anzahl neu hinzugefügter Fehler bedeutend verschlechterter. . . . B hat

with it in a large number of cases in which O_2 differs from it, introducing some fresh errors, but by no means so many as O_2 and occasionally correcting an original error which O_2 had retained. It only once agrees with O_2 independently of the other editions. O_4 appears to be based on O_3, from which it differs sometimes to introduce a hitherto unrepresented reading or an obvious misprint, but seldom to agree with O_1 in conflict with O_3 and in only eight cases in the whole text to agree with O_2 in conflict with O_3. There is therefore no question as to which text should form the basis of an edition of *Tamburlaine*.[1]

II

DATE OF THE PLAY

THE date which has been generally accepted for the completion of the first part of *Tamburlaine* and its first performance is the winter of 1587 and that for the second part very shortly afterwards, almost certainly before November 16, 1587.[2] It has been difficult to find conclusive evidence in support of either of these dates as the first edition and the entry at Stationers' Hall both belong to 1590 (' xiiij^{to} die Augusti | Richard Jones | Entred unto him for his Copye | *The twooe commicall discourses of* TOMBERLEIN *the Cithian shepparde* | under the handes of Master Abraham Hartewell, and the Wardens . . . Vjd ') and the first performances of which we have a record run from August 28, 1594 onwards.[3] But it is obvious from contemporary allusions that the play was known to the general reading and writing public before the earlier of these and upon the most definite allusion, that of the preface to Greene's *Perimedes*, the arguments for dating the play have generally depended. The passage

zwar eine Anzahl von Fehlern seiner Vorlage korrigiert, aber dies sind meistens Druckfehler der einfachsten Art.'

[1] For a fuller discussion of this relationship, see Appendix A, ' The Text of *Tamburlaine* 1 *and* 2.'

[2] Sir Edmund Chambers' inference from a letter of P. Gawdy, Nov. 16, 1587, is now generally accepted. (See T.L.S., Aug. 28, 1930, and cf. Boas, *Marlowe*, p. 71.)

[3] See *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, Pt. II, pp. 167, 168, and p. 61 of this introduction, *The Stage History of the Play*.

from Greene's epistle is quoted below (see pp. 12–13) and the words 'daring God out of heaven with that Atheist *Tamburlan*' have always seemed a sufficiently clear allusion to the passage in which Tamburlaine, collecting and burning the Alcoran and other religious works of the Mahometans in his camp before Babylon, denounces Mahomet in the bitter words which vibrate with Marlowe's hatred of conventional religious observance, while still suffused with his passionate desire for religion:

'Now *Mahomet*, if thou have any power,
'Come downe thy selfe and worke a myracle,
'Thou art not woorthy to be worshipped,
'That suffers flames of fire to burne the writ
'Wherein the sum of thy religion rests.
'Why sends't thou not a furious whyrlwind downe,
'To blow thy Alcaron up to thy throne,
'Where men report, thou sitt'st by God himselfe,
'Or vengeance on the head of *Tamburlain*,
'That shakes his sword against thy majesty,
'And spurns the Abstracts of thy foolish lawes.
'Wel souldiers, Mahomet remaines in hell,
'He cannot heare the voice of *Tamburlain*,
'Seeke out another Godhead to adore,
'The God that sits in heaven, if any God,
'For he is God alone, and none but he.'
[Part II. Act v. Sc. i. ll. 186–201]

There are, of course, a number of other passages in the second part of the play and not a few, even, in the first part, which might have drawn upon Tamburlaine the epithet 'atheist', which, in the mind of Greene and his readers, probably meant a man who held unorthodox tenets.[1] But if these passages be examined it will be found that by far the most striking of them belong to Part II[2] and

[1] The Elizabethan term 'atheist' never means a man who denies the existence of a deity, but only a man who denies the supremacy of that form of deity which the Church and the State have prescribed for him to worship.

[2] Compare, in Part I, the passages I. ii. 198–200, II. iii. 19–21, v. 56–9, vii. 58–61, III. iii. 236–7, IV. iv. 75–6, V. ii. 390–1, with the darker audacity of Part II, III. iv. 52–63, v. 21–2, IV. i. 121–131, V. i. 96–8, iii. 42–5, 58–60, where the growing madness of Tamburlaine leads to outbursts whose violence leaves upon the mind a memory quite other than the

certainly with the single exception of Theridamas's line ' His looks do menace heaven and dare the Gods ' [1] all those in which Tamburlaine appears not only as an atheist but as one who dares ' God out of heaven ',[2] belong there.

It has been necessary to be thus far explicit in explaining the probability of Greene's words pointing, as was long assumed, to the second part of the play and not to the first, because a contemporary scholar has cast doubt upon this interpretation of the reference, in circumstances which must be seriously considered.

In a 1912 number of the *Revue Germanique* [3] M. Danchin drew attention to the remarkable resemblance between the 'fortification' passage in the second part of *Tamburlaine* [4] and certain passages in Paul Ive's *Practise of Fortification* 1589,[5] putting it beyond reasonable doubt that Marlowe's speech was taken almost word for word from the prose pamphlet.[6] From the relation thus established between

exhilaration of the earlier poetry. Although the more subtle and deadly implications of II. i in the second part (especially the ironical lines, 27–41) were perhaps beyond the reaches of Greene's wit, the extravagant defiance of the later part has a sinister suggestion of deadly earnest which might well shock or thrill an audience more impervious to religious emotion than that of Marlowe's day. Moreover, the boyish exultation of the earlier part is further safeguarded against this suspicion by the wholly satisfactory sentiments on Christians which Tamburlaine (surely rather unexpectedly ?) utters in III. iii. 47 seq. and his constant references to Jove and the spirit world, not as his rivals or equals, but as tutelary deities : I. ii. 177–80, III. iii. 156–8, IV. ii. 8–11

[1] Part I, I. ii. 156.

[2] Two arresting passages in this part, besides that already quoted, might well have provoked Greene's epithet ; Tamburlaine's outburst at the death of Zenocrate in which he calls upon Theridamas to ' batter the shining palace of the sun ' and fetch her back to earth again (II. iv. 102–111) and that at the approach of his own death when he frantically calls upon his captains to follow him to the ' slaughter of the Gods ' (V. iii. 46–50).

[3] F. C. Danchin, *Etudes critiques sur Christophe Marlowe.—En marge de la seconde partie de* TAMBURLAINE. *Revue Germanique*, Janvier–Février, 1912.

[4] *II Tamburlaine*, III. ii. 62–90.

[5] The Practise of Fortification: Wherein is shewed the manner of fortifying in all sorts of scituations, with the considerations to be used in delining, and making of royal Frontiers, Skonces, and renforcing of ould walled Townes. Compiled in a most easie, and compendious method, by Paule, Ive. Gent. Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Man, and Toby Cooke. 1589.

[6] For an account of this in its relation to Marlowe's play generally, see *post*, p. 45 and note.

the two works M. Danchin argues that we must transfer the oblique reference of *Perimedes* in 1588 from Part II of *Tamburlaine* to Part I, to allow of pushing forward the writing of *Tamburlaine II* to a period subsequent to the publication of Ive's volume. In the absence of any entry of Ive's book in the Stationers' Register (I have been unable to trace it there) we could of course only follow the indication of the title-page and say generally that this would demand a date not earlier than the beginning of 1589 for the composition of the second part of our play. The repercussion of this upon the date of the first part is of fairly definite nature, for Marlowe's own prologue, taken in conjunction with the internal evidence of the two parts, has always been held to imply that the second followed the first after a relatively short interval. If we accepted this conclusion then, we should be forced to push forward both dates from 1587–8 to 1588–9.

M. Danchin has himself pointed out the grounds upon which the argument for the earlier date may still be maintained. Marlowe could, of course, have inserted the passage in question at a later date and after the appearance of Ive's book (though precisely why he should have done so is a little hard to see; it is the kind of passage that is far more likely to be excised in the playhouse than added there) or he could have seen Paul Ive's book in MS. some time before publication. In view of the frequency with which Elizabethan MS. were handed about before publication this would seem, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, to be an extremely likely contingency. But M. Danchin generously places at his opponents' disposal some further facts which serve to strengthen the possibility, for he shows us that Paul Ive was a Kentishman who dedicated his work to Sir Francis Walsingham which might mean that he had for some time been connected with the Walsingham family,[1] with one branch of which, that of

[1] See M. Danchin's article, p. 33.

Thomas Walsingham of Scadbury in Kent, Marlowe is known to have been on terms of intimacy.[1] Did all these suppositions hold, indeed, it would point to Marlowe's having every opportunity for seeing the work of Ive before it went into print.

But even were this chain of postulates not provable, there would still remain the possibility of Marlowe having read the MS. by some other means, and it would be equally hard to accept that part of M. Danchin's argument which bears upon the date, to reject thereby the strong association with Part II, suggested by Greene's reference and to push both parts of *Tamburlaine* on to a date a year later than that which has been hitherto accepted.[2]

[1] See Vol. I of this series, *The Life of Marlowe*.

[2] The two main branches of M. Danchin's argument have been touched here; the first that *Tamburlaine II* has a passage clearly borrowed from a book whose title-page bears the date 1589, the second that Greene's reference might equally well apply to the first part as to the second of the play. It would, of course, help to undermine the first of these could we find the passages in question either in an earlier sixteenth-century military text-book or in an earlier edition of Ive's work itself. In strict justice I must admit that I have looked in vain through such of the literature in question as was available, and am compelled to accept 1589 as the earliest date for the publication of Ive's passages on fortification. The second side of the argument is, of course, less a matter of fact than of opinion, and M. Danchin's comments here seem to me slightly less defensible. 'D'autre pas, à notre avis du moins, les Elisabéthains ne devaient point accuser Tamburlaine d'athéisme pour s'être raillé de Mahomet, d'autant mieux qu'à la fin de son apostrophe au Dieu des musulmans, Tamburlaine dit à ses soldats d'adorer "le Dieu qui siège au Ciel"; "car il est seul Dieu et personne que lui n'est Dieu." Enfin, au XVI^e^ siècle, en Angleterre, *athée* voulait surtout dire non anglican, hétérodoxe, et le mot s'appliquerait fort bien à de nombreux passages de *Tamburlaine I*.' It might, perhaps, be suggested here that, although the highly suggestive passage beginning 'seek out another Godhead to adore' does indeed follow immediately upon the terrible denunciation of Mahomet, it is not the part of the speech which leaves the strongest impression upon the mind at a first or general reading or hearing. The impression left is that of 'daring', a daring precisely akin to that which sought to 'Batter the shining palace of the sun' or 'Set black streamers on the firmament' and is without precise counterpart in the earlier part. The argument from the Elizabethan view of atheism is also, I think, double-edged, for it may equally be urged that one of the peculiar characteristics of the second part of *Tamburlaine* is that the bitter, ironical and almost Lucretian denunciations of religion begin there to break through the veils of Mahometan and classical theology and myth with which Marlowe had, in the first part, screened his expression and to assert themselves with a rancour and a vigour which makes it impossible to remain blind to their objective.

III

AUTHORSHIP OF THE PLAY

THIS play is assigned to Marlowe mainly on the evidence of its style and thought, supported by three or four facts which point more or less directly to his authorship; his name does not appear upon the title-page of any of the four extant editions. Critics such as Dyce and Bullen had no hesitation in attributing the play to Marlowe, whether believing the external evidence to be of value in supporting the testimony of the play itself or dismissing it as inconclusive and relying entirely upon aesthetic judgment. In point of fact, the evidence from outside sources is somewhat oblique. The most suggestive of these is Heywood's well-known reference in his Cock-pit prologue to the *Jew of Malta* (1633), where, speaking of the actor Alleyn and of Marlowe, he says:

> 'But by the best of Poets * in that age *Marlo.
> 'The *Malta Jew* had being, and was made;
> 'And He, then by the best of Actors * play'd: *Allin.
> 'In *Hero* and *Leander*, one did gaine
> 'A lasting memorie: in *Tamberlaine*,
> 'This *Jew*, with others many: th' other wan
> 'The Attribute of peerelesse, being a man
> 'Whom we may ranke with (doing no one wrong)
> '*Proteus* for shapes, and *Roscius* for a tongue,
> 'So could he speake, so vary; . . .'

Controversy has turned upon the question whether '*Tamberlaine*' here belongs to the list of Marlowe's achievements or to those of Alleyn, which may or may not be here intended to be co-extensive. Robinson, the otherwise somewhat uncritical editor of the 1826 edition, followed by J. Broughton (who finally decided against Marlowe's authorship), were the first to point out in print[1] that the punctuation

[1] Malone's MS. note on the same point in his copy of Langbaine's *Account* (endorsed Feb. 25, 1811) had, of course, preceded these.

alone decided which way the passage should be interpreted.[1]

As Robinson says and as Broughton agrees, 'the words . . . may with equal if not greater propriety, be read in this way:

'In "Hero and Leander" one did gain
'A lasting memory: in "Tamburlaine,"
'This "Jew", with others many, th' other wan
'The attribute of peerless.'[2]

This, of course, would attach the latter part of the statement strictly to Alleyn, telling us nothing either way about Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine*.

In support of the conclusion that Marlowe is here intended as the author of *Tamburlaine* there are references or statements extending to the end of the seventeenth century and suggesting a strongly surviving tradition that it was so. It is only fair to admit that there are also certain allusions which deny this or can be interpreted to point to another author, but to an impartial critic they do not rival those that associate Marlowe more or less directly with the play.

Earliest of these comes the oft-quoted reference in Greene's epistle 'to the gentlemen readers' which precedes his *Perimedes the Blacksmith* (1588). This does not, it is true, directly declare Marlowe the author of *Tamburlaine*, but the implication is difficult to escape from:

'I keepe my old course, to palter up some thing in Prose, using mine old poesie still, *Omne tulit punctum*, although latelye two Gentlemen Poets, made two mad men of Rome beate it out of their paper bucklers: and had it in derision, for that I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragicall buskins, everie worde filling the mouth like the Faburden of Bo-Bell, daring God out of heaven with that

[1] See the series of articles on Marlowe in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1830 (especially that in the supplementary issue to June 1830), and his MS. notes in his copy of Robinson's edition (now in the British Museum Library).

[2] Broughton, quoting Robinson, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1830 (Jan.–June, p. 596). To this reference must now be added that of R. H., in *The Arraignement of the Whole Creature*, 1631, with its marginal note '*Marlow* in his poem' against the passage on Tamburlaine. See Hallett Smith.

Atheist *Tamburlan*, or blaspheming with the mad preest of the sonne: but let me rather openly pocket up the Asse at *Diogenes* hand: then wantonlye set out such impious instances of intollerable poetrie, such mad and scoffing poets, that have propheticall spirits as bred of *Merlins* race, if there be anye in England that set the end of scollarisme in an English blanck verse, I thinke . . . it is the humor of a novice that tickles them with selfe-love.'[1]

To pass to the end of the next century brings us to the first two definite statements of Marlowe's authorship, those of Anthony Wood and Gerard Langbaine, both of which correct specifically the mistake made by Phillips in assigning it, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, to Thomas Newton. Wood does not enter the play under Marlowe's name in the *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691), but when he comes to Newton, remarks that he 'was author, as a certain writer saith, of two tragedies, *viz.* of the first and second parts of *Tamerline the great Scythian Emperor*, but false. For in Tho. Newton's time the said two parts were performed by Christop. Marlo, sometimes a student in Cambridge; afterwards, first an actor on the stage, then, (as Shakespeare, whose contemporary he was) a maker of plays, though inferior both in fancy and merit'.[2] Langbaine is equally clear. In the *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691) he says: 'I know not how Mr. Philips came to ascribe *Tamburlaine the Great* to this Author (i.e. Newton); for tho' Marloe's Name be not printed in the Title-page, yet both in Mr. Kirkman's and my former Catalogue printed in 1680, his Name is prefix'd.'

Meanwhile, as has been said, within the century after Marlowe's death there are a number of allusions that have provoked doubt as to the authorship of *Tamburlaine* and at least two definite statements that show profound ignorance of the play and its author. The earliest of these is

[1] *Perimedes the Blacksmith* . . . sig. A3–A3$_v$ (1588).
[2] *Ath. Ox.* (ed. 1815), Vol. II, col. 7.

that allusion in the *Black Book* by T. M., 1604, which led Farmer,[1] and Malone in accordance with him, to attribute the play to Nashe. 'The spindle-shanke Spyders which showd like great Leachers with little legges, went stalking over his' (Thomas Nashe's) 'head, as if they had bene conning of *Tamburlayne.*' Farmer and Malone both assumed that this pointed to Nashe as the author but, as Dyce[2] suggested later, the emphasis lies upon the description of the stalk of the spider—like that of an actor practising the part of Tamburlaine.

The second seventeenth-century allusion that seems to point to another author, apparently led so serious a scholar as Malone to a fantastic attribution of the play, this time to Nicholas Breton.[3] It occurs in Sir John Suckling's *The Goblins* (Act IV, Sc. i.) and is part of a conversation between a poet and the band of thieves who have carried him off. In reply to a question from the poet as to whether Mendoza or Spenser is to be found there, the thief replies:

'No, none of these:
'They are by themselves in some other place;
'But here's he that writ *Tamerlane.*
Poet. 'I beseech you bring me to him,
'There's something in his Scene
'Betwixt the Empresses a little high and clowdie,
'I would resolve my selfe.
1 *Th.* 'You shall Sir.
'Let me see—the Author of the *bold Beauchams,*
'And *Englands Joy.*
Poet. 'The last was a well writ piece, I assure you,
'A Brittane I take it; and Shakespeares very way:
'I desire to see the man.'

[1] See MS. note by Malone in his copy of Langbaine's *Account* (p. 344), in the Bodleian.

[2] *The Works of Christopher Marlowe,* 1858, p. xv.

[3] 'Langbaine's assertion that Heywood attributes Tamburlaine to Marlowe in his prologue to the "Jew of Malta" is founded in a mistake and a false punctuation. Heywood only asserts that Alleyn was famous in the part of Tamburlaine, not that Marlowe wrote the play. Tamburlaine, I now believe, was written by Nich. Breton, the author of the "Three Bold Beauchamps" and "England's Joy."' MS. note Feb. 28, 1811, in Malone's 'Langbaine'.

At first glance this might seem to suggest that one author is referred to in both of the speeches of the thief, but it is even more likely that he breaks off from his discussion of one item on his list to pass on to mention the next.

One downright error, which there is no mistaking, is that of Edward Phillips, already referred to in connection with Wood's and Langbaine's testimony, by which the play *Tamburlaine* is entered under the name of Th. Newton: 'Thomas Newton, the Author of three Tragedies; *Thebais*, the first and second parts of *Tamerlane*, the Great *Scythian* Emperour.'[1]

Equally eloquent of the ignorance or indifference to the authorship of this play in the Restoration period is the profession of C. Saunders when, in 1681, he published his own *Tamerlane the Great*, that he never met any other play by that name though he had indeed been told 'there is a Cock-Pit Play, going under the name of the *Scythian Shepherd* or *Tamberlain the Great*, which how good it is, anyone may Judge by its obscurity, being a thing, not a Bookseller in *London*, or scarce the Players themselves, who Acted it formerly, cou'd call to Remembrance, so far, that I believe that whoever was the Author, he might e'en keep it to himself secure from invasion, or Plagiary'.[2]

But in the eighteenth century a revival of Marlowe scholarship began and the sound tradition of Wood and Langbaine touching the authorship of *Tamburlaine* prevailed. Bishop Tanner, writing in 1745,[3] lists *Tamburlaine* among Marlowe's plays, and the end of the century and opening years of the next saw it so included in the majority of literary histories.[4] Lamb's *Specimens* in 1808 similarly

[1] *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675 (*The Modern Poets*, p. 182).

[2] *Tamerlane the Great. A Tragedy. As it is Acted by their Majesties Servants at the Theatre Royal. By C. Saunders, Gent.* London, 1681 (Preface, sig. a_v.)

[3] *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: sive de Scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia ad sæculi xvii. initium floruerunt. . . . Auctore . . . Thoma Tannero . . .* MDCCXLVIII, p. 512.

[4] This period includes the researches of Ritson, Reed, Steevens, Malone, Broughton, Collier, Fleay and Hallam, and the critical commentaries of Hazlitt, Lamb and Leigh Hunt.

heralded a long series of editions of Marlowe's works, all of which accepted *Tamburlaine*.[1]

It will be observed, then, that the evidence for Marlowe's authorship rests on a strong though intermittently expressed tradition taken in conjunction with one interpretation of Heywood's reference and, it may be added, with the fact that both parts of the play were produced by the Admiral's Company, with which Marlowe is known to have been associated. No other author is consistently indicated even by the apparent evidence to the contrary and there is no early tradition in favour of any other. The only doubts of any moment are those raised in the minds of Broughton, Farmer and Malone by what are now regarded as misinterpretations of a few passages. No critic of sound judgment, from the time of Dyce onwards, has seriously doubted Marlowe's authorship, though none have been able to express their belief in terms of categorical proof. It is enough that the play contains the quintessence of Marlowe's early poetry and the germ of his later thought.

In the first section of his monograph on *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe* (1922), to which the preceding section is much indebted, Professor Brooke has enumerated some fifty or more early references to *Tamburlaine*.[2] Numerous as they are up to the time of the closing of the theatres, they unfortunately never afford a clue to the authorship, in fact, as the author says, 'none appears to be extant which proves with absolute certainty that the speaker knew who wrote the play'. These references demonstrate the wide and long-continued popularity or notoriety of the play and reveal in detail the fluctuations of opinion from century to century,[3] while the evidence which has been

[1] For a list of these, see Appendix B.

[2] The monograph covers the whole period of Marlowe criticism and allusion, from contemporary references to the main contributions of twentieth-century scholarship up to the date of publication.

[3] The pre-Commonwealth writers whose allusions to *Tamburlaine* are here quoted or mentioned total more than two dozen. The names include those of Greene, Nashe, Peele, Lodge, Dekker, Hall, Rowlands, Drayton, Jonson, Marston, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford, Day,

adduced for or against Marlowe's authorship is set forth clearly in the same author's *Marlowe Canon*, pp. 386–390 (1922).

IV

SOURCES OF THE PLAY

THERE is a peculiar fascination in attempting to trace Marlowe's study of the great Mongolian Khan Tīmūr, for he drew upon sources which were themselves eked out with rumours and presented a picture as remote from the original as Marlowe's own, by its imaginative insight, was removed again from theirs. The modern student of the life of Tīmūr finds, not unnaturally, that the farther east he goes in search of records, the more reliable the records tend to become and that the later the date of a publication, the farther east it is likely, on the whole, to carry him.[1] For the eastern sources of information were slow in reaching Europe; none, with the exception of the Turkish material drawn upon by Leunclavius and the French version of the histories of Haytoun the Armenian, were translated into European tongues before the year 1600,[2] and the relatively reliable writings of the three fifteenth-century Byzantine historians, Ducas, Phrantzes and Chalcondylas,[3] seem not to have been used by most of those who had purveyed the story to north-west Europe by the year 1587–8. Equally

Chettle, Heywood, Massinger, Habington, Stirling, Cooke, Sharpham, Harvey, Taylor, Brathwaite, Suckling and Cowley. In the majority of these allusions the name 'Tamburlaine' appears, in others the reference is unmistakable.

[1] The main eastern sources for the life of Tīmūr began to be available in European tongues about the middle of the seventeenth century. For these and for the works of the other writers mentioned in this section, see Appendix E.IV.

[2] The claim of Jean de Bec that he translated his *Histoire du Grand Empereur Tamerlanes* (1595) from 'des Monumens antiques des Arabes' has long been discredited, or, at best, questioned.

[3] And this in spite of the fact that Chalcondylas's Greek manuscript was translated into Latin and published in 1556: *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis, de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum Libri Decem*, etc. Basle, 1556.

disregarded were, apparently, the Latin memoirs of the travellers Carpini and Rubruquis, the Spanish report of Clavijo and the German narrative of Schiltberger.[1] All that were easily available were a large number of recensions in Latin or Italian by Italian historians (some translated into English), the similar Spanish summary of Pedro Mexia, to which may be added the translation from Turkish sources by Gaudius, used, as has already been mentioned, by Leunclavius, and the French translation of Haytoun's work, all but the last two begetting in their turn a series of descendants.

It seems unlikely, therefore, that Marlowe would have read some of the accounts which modern scholars value most highly, such as (to instance the most notable) the report of the embassy of Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Tīmūr in 1403–4 or of Schiltberger's service under Bajazet and Tīmūr from 1396 to 1405. We do not find in the pages of Marlowe's play the portrait of the Mongolian conqueror which we can now draw from contemporary, or nearly contemporary testimony, though that curious penetration into the reality behind the written word, which distinguishes Marlowe's avid search for knowledge, sometimes leads him into felicity of interpretation startling to the modern scholar who knows how misleading were most of his sources. The likeness and the unlikeness, then, of these two figures, of Tīmūr Khan and Marlowe's Tamburlaine, lays an irresistible problem before us: how was this other glittering figure, so unlike in all detail, so like in a few essential qualities of the spirit, derived from the Mongolian despot? By what means did the story reach Marlowe and by what process of reduction and perversion did chance select the group of facts which, transmuted, form the basis of this play? It is well to look first at the original Tīmūr.

The Historical Tīmūr. Tīmūr Khan (1336–1405) belonged by race to the group of western Tartars who fell apart

[1] See Appendix E.IV, under Carpini, Rubruquis, etc.

from the main body when the great Empire founded by Jenghiz and brought to its full flower by Kublai disintegrated after his death. Tīmūr seems to have possessed some of the qualities of both the great Khans of the earlier empire, the ferocity, tenacity, courage and military genius of Jenghiz, the love of splendour and the capacity for government in time of peace which were a part, though only a part, of the noble and gracious character of Kublai. After a youth of struggles with rival leaders and Mongolian tribes in the neighbourhood of Samarqand, he had, by the year 1369, consolidated a kingdom for himself in the territory east of the Caspian Sea. With this as a base he proceeded to the conquest of northern India and thence to that of Anatolia (roughly the modern Asia Minor) and Persia. In the year 1402 he met and overthrew Bajazet, the head of the Turkish Empire, at Ancora in Bithynia and was proceeding against the southern Chinese Empire when he died in 1405. His character, as it is revealed by the Arab, Persian and Syrian historians and by the records of Clavijo and Schiltberger, was a strange mixture of oriental profusion and subtlety with barbarian crudity.

He inherited, as a member of a military caste, the tradition of the great line of Tartar Khans, with their genius for tactics and military discipline. This capacity was developed throughout his youth and middle-age by the incessant wars with western and central Asiatic tribes, by which he fought his way to sovereignty. He had courage and tenacity unsurpassed even among Mongols and the power of binding to him, by his generosity, his severe yet even justice and his charm, the men of highest ability whom his watchful and sympathetic judgment unfailingly discerned. National temperament and the hard battle of the first half of his life combined to make him ruthless. He slaughtered, where necessary, in cold blood and upon a scale horrifying to western notions. Yet his empire, when it was established, was orderly and peaceful; roads, bridges, communications

were in perfect order; justice was fairly administered, probably in fear and trembling, by his magistrates; learning was reverenced and encouraged; religious toleration was extended to all forms of monotheism; art and trade grew and developed. Samarqand, to which were transported the finest craftsmen and the greatest sages from the conquered cities of Asia, grew prosperous too in its own right by virtue of his organization. All that it is possible to imagine achieved by one man he achieved; he failed only to give to his Empire the stability derived from slow growth and to provide for himself a worthy successor; two things beyond even the might of Jenghiz or of Kublai.

The picture of his capital, Samarqand, in Clavijo's narrative, equals in its colour and beauty Marco Polo's earlier pictures of the Court of Kublai; a city with fair and open streets, rich with trade and crafts, lying in a fertile land from which waggons of wheat and barley and fruit, horses and herds of fat-tailed sheep poured daily in; with far-stretching suburbs of houses and palaces surrounded by orchards and gardens and, far out into the plain, the villages and settlements of the captives of war that he had gathered from every nation he had subdued. The gates of the palaces were glorious with blue and golden enamel, the hangings of woven silk, gold-embroidered and decorated with jewelled plaques and silk tassels; the tents, in which the Tartars still for the greater part lived, were of richly coloured silks fur-lined; huge erections three lances high that looked from a distance like the castles of Europe. Merchants from all lands poured in to this city with leather and fur from Russia, with the matchless silks of China, with rubies from the north; the perfumes of India scented its streets. Such splendour was there, says Clavijo, as could not have been seen in Cairo itself. From every land that he had conquered Tīmūr had brought the masters of its most famous crafts, all to the enriching of this city of Samarqand, the treasury of the eastern world. And in the midst of this

sat the ageing Khan, dressed in his Chinese silks and his jewels, leaning upon his mattresses of karcob, cloth of gold, attended by his nine wives in fantastic magnificence of costume that beggars description; drinking from morning till sundown and often till the next morning cosmos or soured mare's milk, and the wine which was the test of Tartar manhood; eating roasted horse- and sheep-flesh dragged into the presence in huge leather troughs to be distributed there into golden vessels incrusted with jewels; rousing himself to issue some merciless autocratic command or deliver a deserved death sentence, to greet his ambassadors with the patronizing magnificence of a child or to rebuke them with the insolence of a megalomaniac, scanning greedily the while the ambassadorial gifts to which he pretended a supreme indifference; matching his wits against the foreigners and the few of his own people who dared encounter him. Such was the man who had dared everything possible to his imagination and had never faltered; who had endured desert and mountain warfare, victory and defeat, from boyhood to the age of seventy years; who had raised up this golden city in Tartary and had stripped the ancient cities of Persia and Anatolia; who had slaughtered a million people in Baghdad and built their heads into a pyramid for his own memorial, yet had spared the libraries, mosques and hospitals there and sent its scholars in custody to Samarqand. Such was 'the sweet fruition of an earthly crown' upon the brows of the great Khan Tīmūr. But through Clavijo's narrative we see an old age autocratic rather than degenerate and catch glimpses of the youth that lay behind, when, as became a conqueror of true Mongol breed, he had combined ferocious and tenacious courage with quick, impenetrable, subtle wits, so that he passed over the face of Asia like a consuming fire or a whirlwind, driven by fanatical lust for dominion, leaving behind him desolation and wilderness where had been fertile plains and ancient civilizations deep-rooted in their

hitherto impregnable cities. To his later and alien historians he is a scourge and an abomination, yet even they pause perforce in their denunciations to pay half-unconscious and unwilling homage to the distant image of that flaming will and illimitable aspiration.

It is hard for us to-day, even with the inheritance of three centuries of dominion in the east, to understand the strange balance of heroic virtues and savagery, of ungoverned passions and supreme military discipline, of opulence and austerity, of cruelty and the love of art and philosophy which made up the temperament of Tīmūr and in less degree of his Tartar nobles. It was harder for the Englishman of the sixteenth century who, though his knowledge of the near east seems in general to have surpassed ours, had far less opportunity of studying even at second hand the characters and customs of any of the races of central Asia. It was not easy even for the Latin peoples of that time, with their close trade relations with the Levant and with western Asia to assess this new, raw civilization that had sprung up in the plains of western Tartary on the ruins of the empire of Kublai. Alone the Byzantines and those few chroniclers who worked in close contact with the Turkish empire or had penetrated beyond the Caspian Sea had the necessary background of general knowledge. The story as it comes west takes on a western interpretation; motives, customs, speech and processes of the mind are all inevitably translated into a western form and made the subject of reflexions and deductions prompted by Christian habits of thought. Marco Polo, Carpini, Rubruquis, Clavijo and Schiltberger, the men who had crossed the eastern borders and testified either admiringly or in censure to the world that lay behind the Caspian mountains, seem to have dropped out of account with the serious historians in the passing of a century or more [1] and the western world, more

[1] Here again, partial exception must be made in the case of Haytoun, the Armenian traveller, whose history of the eastern kingdoms found its

interested in 1580 in the immediate doings of the Turks and in near-eastern politics, was content to receive the story of the Mongols from universal or general histories, themselves derived from rumour, from conjecture and from reports at second and at third hand.

The Byzantine Accounts of Tīmūr. The earliest historical accounts of the career of Tīmūr which could have influenced, even indirectly, the opinions of Englishmen of the sixteenth century, are those of the Byzantines, Ducas, Phrantzes and Chalcondylas, and the first two remained relatively inaccessible in Greek manuscripts until the seventeenth century; if the Italian historians were indebted to them, the debt is not conspicuous. All three are primarily concerned with the fate of Constantinople, and the supreme event of the opening years of the fifteenth century is the aversion of Bajazet's siege of that city by Tīmūr's attack upon him. But all three find time for voluminous comments upon subordinate events, customs and persons, and Chalcondylas turns from his narrative to give a long account of the early life of Tīmūr. Their outlook, however, is Byzantine; there is little to choose between the tyranny of Bajazet and the tyranny of Tīmūr;[1] the clash between the two Asiatic powers was a happy effect of Providence that preserved Constantinople from the Moslem rule for another fifty years. Phrantzes tells us that Tīmūr spared his fellow Mahometans after the battle of Ancora,[2] Ducas that he treated Bajazet with courtesy and relative considerateness.[3] All agree as to the courage of Bajazet,[4]

way into French about the year 1501. Marlowe's acquaintance with this volume seems, however, to have been exceptional and Haytoun's account is not drawn upon by the European historians.

[1] This is confirmed by Schiltberger's account in which also there is little to choose between the methods of his two masters; Bajazet's slaughter of the prisoners at Nicopolis rivalling Tīmūr's similar feats.

[2] As do also the more favourable of the eastern biographies of Tīmūr.

[3] This agrees with the version of Kwand Amir in the *Habeeb-us-Siyar*.

[4] This, again, the eastern biographers admit without question. Bajazet loses much of his dignity in the hands of the European historians, but it is Marlowe himself who, to enhance the glory of Tamburlaine, strips him of his valour. In this he may, as Hugh G. Dick points out, have been following Bodin.

but Phrantzes and Chalcondylas emphasize the royalty of his nature and his proud repudiation of Tīmūr the shepherd, even while a prisoner in the Scythian camp. Phrantzes' record of the dialogue is poignant ; his sympathy is, perhaps strangely, with the Turkish emperor whose spirit is unbowed by calamity being 'Descended of so many royal kings': *'Οἶδα καλῶς, δια τὸ εἶναί σε ἄγροικον Σκύθην καὶ ἐξ ἀσήμου γένους, ὅτι αἱ βασιλικαὶ παρασκευαὶ οὐκ ἀρέσουσί σοι, διότι οὐδέποτε ταῦτα ἔπρεπόν σοι· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὡς υἱὸς τοῦ 'Αμουράτη καὶ ἔγγονος τοῦ 'Ορχάνου καὶ δισέγγονος τοῦ 'Οτθμάνου καὶ τρισέγγονος τοῦ 'Ερτογρούλη, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πλείονα πρέπον μοί ἐστι ποιειν καὶ ἔχειν.'* [1] The words of Ducas have most feeling when he speaks of the waste and desolation that lay behind the Scythian armies : *''Εξερχομένου δὲ ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν ἀπιέναι, τὴν καταλελειμμένην εἰς τόσον ἀφίεσαν ἔρημον, ὅτι οὔτε κυνὸς ὑλαχὴ τὸ παράπαν ἠκούετο, οὐδὲ ὄρνιθος ἡμέρου κοκκυσμὸς, οὐδὲ παιδίου κλαυθμυρισμός.'* [2] But it is Chalcondylas who spends most time upon the story of Tīmūr's career, who devotes the whole of the third book of his history to the life of Tīmūr and who gives us, at the close of the second book, a picture of Tīmūr's relations with his wife and his respect and affection for her.[3] According to Chalcondylas, the only one of the Byzantines with whom there is any reason for thinking Marlowe was acquainted, Tīmūr was of low birth, grew to be a robber

[1] It is Phrantzes, incidentally, who is responsible for the story of Bajazet's imprisonment in the iron cage, that story which laid so fast a hold upon the imaginations of the European historians. The growth of this episode in the later versions is a striking example of the effect of ignorance of Tartar life upon the growth of the Tīmūr saga. Nothing was more natural than that a prisoner (who had already tried to escape) should be confined, during the long waggon treks of the Tartar army, in some kind of litter. It is even suggested that Phrantzes has misunderstood the Turkish word 'kafes' (which may mean a litter or a cage) and has set on foot an entirely mythological episode. For a full discussion of the legend and its origins, see J. v. Hammer-Purgstall: *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Vol. I (Bk. VIII.), pp. 317–23.

[2] The eastern authorities, even the hostile Arabshah, seem to accept the consequences of Tīmūr's career without comment and without regret.

[3] Jean du Bec also emphasizes this relationship ; but it is difficult to say from what source his material is derived. The authentic oriental sources all either emphasize or imply it.

(his lameness was the result of an accident during a robbery) and was an unscrupulous, fraudulent barbarian who sacked and pillaged until at last the King of the Massegetes made him general of his forces. In his name, Tīmūr besieged Babylon and at his death took possession of the kingdom, stormed Samarqand, and invaded Hyrcania, Arabia and other districts, fighting the while from time to time with other Tartar tribes.[1] Chalcondylas has some sound knowledge of Tartar life and customs and the short passage he introduces on their food, clothes, arms and military tactics tallies precisely with the accounts of Clavijo. Needless to say his material was hardly ever reproduced in detail by the later European historians. Tīmūr, he goes on to tell us, besieged Damascus and took it with a siege engine, marched upon Bajazet outside Constantinople, sacking Sebastia upon the way and turning his cavalry upon the women and children to massacre them.[2] Bajazet met him at Angora in Phrygia (*Οὔγχρα*) with a much smaller army that was exhausted by forced marches; he was defeated and taken prisoner, as was also his wife, the daughter of Eleazar, Prince of the Bulgars, and his sons. Bajazet, after an interesting dialogue in which his princely indignation outran a due sense of his situation, was sent in chains round the camp and so to prison, while his wife was forced to wait upon the Scythian leaders at supper.[3] Tīmūr took Bajazet with him on his Indian campaign which followed immediately and Bajazet

[1] This is approximately the version of Arabshah, but the eastern sources generally call him the son of a king or Tartar noble and of the house of Jenghiz. Their versions of his expeditions, sieges and wars generally agree with these, though they are more detailed and numerous. The order of his conquests varies, too, even from one eastern source to another.

[2] This episode, which appears in a specialized form in the Italian historians, and finds its place in Marlowe's account of the fate of the virgins of Damascus, has a counterpart in Arabshah's description of the taking of Ispahan. It is confirmed by Schiltberger's description of the destruction of the children of Ispahan by the same method. It seems in the highest degree improbable that Schiltberger, a man who had been a slave most of his life, and was apparently illiterate, could have known the account of his contemporary, Chalcondylas.

[3] For the later versions of this part of the story and their relations to Chalcondylas's account, see Appendix D.3 (and notes).

died on the way.[1] In his later years Tīmūr fell into debauchery and luxury[2] and his empire, utterly unconsolidated, melted away after his death.

It is easy to see in this the germ of the story which reached Marlowe mainly through Perondinus, Pedro Mexia, Primaudaye and Bizarus (though it suffered many changes by the way). In the Byzantine versions of the tale the figure of Tīmūr is still that of a Tartar Khan, though, as they are mainly concerned with his career from the sixty-fifth year of his life, he is a man educated by action and experience, civilized by a lifetime of responsibility and unremitting activity of mind. When we leave the Byzantines we leave the last of his western historians capable of interpreting him in terms of Tartar thought and life; henceforth in Europe, he is either portrayed as a monster or forcibly explained in terms of European characteristics and traditions.

Early Sixteenth-Century European Accounts. In the sixteenth century the career of Tīmūr was summarized in a large number of universal histories, geographies or collections of tales and reflections, all of which tend to reproduce each other and to present a similar nucleus of mingled fact and fiction, borrowing little from the contemporary travellers already referred to and not much more from the Byzantines except that irreducible minimum of fact which persists through all the sources, Oriental and European. To name all of these would be tedious; among the chief writers before Pedro Mexia are Mathias Palmerius (Palmieri), the Florentine historian who continued the *Chronicon* of Eusebius down to 1449,[3] Bartholomæus Sacchi de Platina, the Vatican Librarian in whose life of Pope Boniface IX there is an account of Tīmūr, Petrus Crinitus, *De Honesta Disciplina* (1496–1504), Baptiste Fulgosi (Fregoso), the Genoese, in

[1] Ducas reports a rumour that Bajazet poisoned himself (Migne, p. 847) and Phrantzes says that he was killed after eight months' imprisonment.

[2] Chalcondylas seems to be the only early historian who dwells upon this, though Haytoun, Leunclavius and Podesta all present Turkish modifications of the same report.

[3] See Appendix E for fuller references to this and the following works.

whose *De Dictis Factisque memorabilia* (1518), both Tīmūr and the Scythians in general find a place, Andrea Cambinus, the Florentine, whose *Libro . . . della origine de Turchi* (1529) was represented for Englishmen by John Shute's translation of 1562, Pope Pius II in whose *Asiae Europaeque Elegantissima descriptio* (1534) the story is summed up in one of its most representative forms; Johann Cuspinian's *De Turcorum Origine* (1541) and Paulo Giovio's *Commentarii delle cose de Turchi* (1541), translated into English by Peter Ashton in 1546, conclude the list.

An exception must be made in the case of one work, the report of the travels of Haytoun the Armenian which was published in a French translation about 1501 under the title *Les fleurs des hystoires de la terre Dorient*, etc.[1] The version of Tīmūr's career and personality included in these histories (Part V. chap. vii.) was not absorbed into the main stream of recension and compilation, but it is possible that Marlowe had read it or become in some way acquainted with its contents,[2] though in the main structure of his story he followed the mid-sixteenth-century European accounts. Haytoun's Tīmūr is an Oriental and his career is more nearly that of the eastern biographers than any other European account until we reach Leunclavius (whom it is unlikely that Marlowe had the chance of studying before he wrote his play). He tells us that Tīmūr's early wars were against other Tartar tribes in central Asia; he quotes examples of his cunning and his astuteness in outwitting his powerful adversaries that recall the character Arabshah gives the Tartar leader; most notable of all, he reveals in Tīmūr that blending of sensualism and cruelty with military genius, religious fervour, courtesy to his friends and strangers and love of beautiful craftsmanship, which only a man who had some knowledge of Oriental character could have produced.

[1] See Appendix E.

[2] I am indebted to Miss Seaton for first drawing my attention to the possible relationship of *Tamburlaine* and Haytoun's histories. See also her article *Fresh Sources for Marlowe* (*Review of English Studies*, Oct. 1929), *passim*.

The other writers of the first half of the century content themselves with reporting the main episodes of what became the accepted version of Timur's career.

But each adds something to the saga, with the possible exception of Platina. Palmieri tells us that Tamburlaine, having taken Bajazet captive, led him with him on his travels, bound with golden chains. The golden chains—that somewhat pointless and surely inefficient accessory—were adopted by Cuspinian and by Giovio, passing on to the later Granucci, Ashton and Newton; Marlowe disdained them. Fregoso seems to have either tapped fresh sources or to have had a lively imagination. He describes Tamburlaine as a Scythian shepherd who gathered together his fellow-shepherds, making them swear to follow him as their leader wherever he went. They accepted this as a jest, but he, turning jest to earnest, set forth upon a career of kingship.[1] The Persian king, hearing of his activities, sent a leader with 1,000 horse against him, who was won over by the persuasions of the Scythian and joined with him.[2] A quarrel arose between the king of Persia and his brother in which Tamburlaine intervened, as he does in Marlowe's play, first to set the usurper on the throne, then, after he had himself been made general of the army, to dethrone the second king and seize the crown of Persia.

Cambinus adds to this growing saga one or two highly coloured details. According to him, Tamburlaine not only led Bajazet about in chains (the material is not specified) wherever he went, but had him tied under the table at meals like a dog and used him as a horse-block 'faciendoselo inclinare davanti lo usava in luogo di scanno'.

[1] This version of his first attempt at leadership is followed by Mexia, Perondinus and Primaudaye, as, indeed, is much of Fregoso's narrative. There is a trace of it in one of the episodes described by Arabshah and in Haytoun's account, but not in the other Eastern accounts.

[2] This story, taken over by Marlowe, is reproduced by Mexia, Perondinus, Primaudaye and Bizarus as are also the following events which led to Tamburlaine's possession of the Persian throne. Marlowe could have drawn them from any of the five authors.

Both the dog and the horse-block, though unknown to Oriental authorities, were eagerly seized upon, the first by Cuspinian, Mexia, Perondinus and Ashton, who added them in a marginal note to his translation of Giovio, the second by Cuspinian, Mexia, Perondinus, Ashton again, Curio and Granucci. Marlowe was unfortunately swept into this tide of witnesses. It is Cambinus, too, who reports the marvellous siege engine with which Tamburlaine took Damascus, the story of the trick he played to obtain the wealth of the town of Capha, the three tents, white, red and black,[1] which revealed to a beleaguered city the mood of the Tartar conqueror, the story (seldom or never after this omitted) of the city which disregarded the warning of the tents and, on the fatal third day, sent out the women and children in white clothing with olive branches to plead for mercy. (Their fate was precisely that of the Damascan virgins in Marlowe's play and seems, if Schiltberger is to be trusted, to have a germ of historical truth.)[2] Almost equally popular is Cambinus's story of the friend of Tamburlaine (often this is a Genoese merchant) who dared to rebuke him for this brutality, to whom Tamburlaine replied with burning eyes that he was the wrath of God and punishment of the world, after which, says Fortescue, 'This merchuant . . . sodenly retired.'[3]

Pope Pius II reproduced this version, on the whole with remarkable fidelity. But he did one notable service to later romancers by telling us that Tamburlaine kept Bajazet in an iron cage. Whether this was drawn from his own imagination or from a knowledge of Phrantzes' account, it was instantly adopted by succeeding historians. The material may or may not be described, but the cage is invariable.[4]

Cuspinian adds nothing of his own (he adopts of course

[1] An earlier account of these is to be found in Petrus Crinitus (1496).
[2] See previous note, p. 25.
[3] For Fortescue's account of this episode, see Appendix C.
[4] See, for a full discussion of this myth and its development, J. von Hammer-Purgstall: *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pesth. 1827), Vol. I, Book VIII.

the dog, the horse-block and the cage) and Giovio does little more. Thus, by the year before Mexia's book was written, the Tamburlaine myth had drawn to itself so many strange accretions as to be hardly germane to the versions of Tīmūr's contemporaries in Asia and not closely akin even to those of the Byzantines.

Pedro Mexia. Pedro Mexia was a Sevillian and student of Salamanca, a mathematician, cosmographer and historian. His *Silva de varia lection*, first published in 1542, is a characteristic collection of narrations and reflexions upon history, geography and civilization, dear to the hearts of his European contemporaries. The twenty-eighth chapter of the second book is a leisurely story of some length, gathering together nearly all the deeds or experiences attributed to Tamburlaine by the Italian historians. Indeed, of the episodes that have already been described, none are omitted by Mexia except those peculiar to the Byzantines and the taking of the town of Capha. As is perhaps inevitable from such promiscuous gleaning as this, the result is hardly homogeneous. Mexia carefully enumerates Tamburlaine's characteristics, but he never succeeds in giving him a character. His different sources refuse to mingle and make him contradict himself. His imagination is stirred by the greatness of Tamburlaine and not a little moved by the strange oblivion which has overtaken that greatness; he dwells on his courage, his valour, his passion and his dreams of conquest. Yet in a little while he describes the murder of the women and children sent out from the besieged city, the frivolous brutality of Tamburlaine's treatment of Bajazet, and he can only shake his head and suppose him the scourge of God sent for the punishment of the world. But if the figure that Mexia thus puts together with painful joinery is discontinuous and unreal, the story has yet a certain coherence. To Mexia it is but a series of appeals to reflexion upon the vicissitudes of life and the mutability of fortune:

'Upon thy glade day have in thy minde
The unwar wo or harm that comth bihinde.'

He is ever at our elbow ready with a gentle reminder that the sad fate of Bajazet and the oblivion settling upon Tīmūr's name should put us upon thinking how transitory and unreal are these triumphs of the world. 'Çierto es grande documento y exemplo para tener en poco los grandes poderes y mandos deste mundo. pues à un Rey tan grande, tan temido . . . y obedescido de todos, y a la noche se viesse esclavo. . . .'[1] This rings true; it is Mexia's own interpretation of the tale; not in Tartary, not in Anatolia, but in that half-Christian Europe where the mind turns now to this world, now to the next, where the falls of princes leave an echo strange and sad, yet stirring wonder and deep surmise: 'A king so great, so feared . . . and that night a slave.'[2]

Petrus Perondinus. The next version of the story of Tamburlaine which has considerable importance is that of Petrus Perondinus, the *Magni Tamerlanis Scythiarum Imperatoris Vita* published at Florence in 1553. This must have offered Marlowe what Mexia's story lacked, a clear and consistent picture of the central figure. From the pages of Perondinus's packed and pregnant Latin, the figure of Tamburlaine emerges insatiable, irresistible, ruthless, destructive, but instinct with power. There is no need for Perondinus to assure us how great he would appear if only we had the records of his life faithfully laid up; he touches, apparently, some sources unknown to Mexia,[3] but by virtue of his own power of fusing them together, rather than by virtue of their guidance, he has drawn an unforgettable picture of the conqueror 'thirsting with sovereignty and love of arms' (insatiabili siti), pushing north to the uttermost confines of ice and snow, 'ultra Imaum perpetuis

[1] Ed. 1550. Fol. lxxviii verso.
[2] This has the very note of a later English historian, Sir Walter Ralegh the friend of Marlowe. (See note to I. IV. ii. 1.)
[3] See note to I. II. i. 27–8.

fere nivibus objecti',[1] and south to the sweltering plains of Babylon, where he left desolation and burning for the ancient Persian glory; unchecked by obstacles, untouched by pity, led by fortunate stars and confident in their leading. Even the foolish embroidery which the chroniclers had added to the tale of Bajazet is included without staying the effect; it is no more than a casual and grim relaxation of this Scourge of the world, himself scourged by his insatiable lust for dominion. And a darker tone is given to his character even in its mirth than the earlier Italian writers had dreamed, by his treatment of the captive Turkish Empress, the final misery that drove Bajazet to suicide. The impression left by Perondinus is a clear one. He was concerned mainly, as was Marlowe after him, with the mind of the Tartar Khan, with his passions and his merciless desire, inexplicable though they often seem. For this reason Perondinus's life is the first account of Tamburlaine since those of the Byzantine chroniclers which has dignity and impressiveness and is hard to lay down. And beneath it all, by some strange mutation of the imagination such as Marlowe himself might have appreciated, he perceives only a barbarian of genius, a barbarian with no traditions to build upon, who ravages, burns, pillages and destroys and then, unable to rest, can conceive of nothing but more destruction, or, at best, the retreat of a robber with his spoil into his fastness of Samarqand. Perondinus follows the trail of destruction unsparingly yet with a solemn evenness of tone that is the more impressive for the absence of those comments that gave Mexia's work its air of meditative, pious resignation.

Later Sixteenth-Century Accounts of Tamburlaine. Of the later versions of the life of Tamburlaine, of those, that is, written after Mexia and before Marlowe's play, we can pass over the majority as typical recensions. There is a full but not original account in Richier's *De Rebus Tur-*

[1] Perondinus Cap. IV.

carum (1540–3) and a briefer one in Muenster's *Cosmographia* (1544) and Sagundinus's *Re Rebus Turcicis Libri tres*, revised by Ramus (1553). There are also Shute's translation of Cambinus (*Two very notable commentaries* . . . 1562), which reproduces its original faithfully, Nicolao Granucci's *La Vita del Tamburlano*, 1569), which is full but has no notable qualities, and Curio's *Sarracenicae Historiae* (1567), translated by Newton as *A Notable History of the Saracens* (1575).[1] The history of the German Philippus Lonicerus (*Chronicorum Turcicorum Tomus Primus* . . . etc., 1556) demands more attention, as it would appear from recent researches[2] that Marlowe had read it attentively and drew upon it, not always in connection with the life of Tamburlaine, but remembering details that appear in various parts of his play.[3] In his description of Tamburlaine Lonicerus reproduces, often verbatim, the versions of Perondinus and other earlier chroniclers, but Callimachus's account of the battle of Varna makes the later edition (1578) of interest in connection with the second part of Marlowe's play.[4] In the same way, Marlowe appears to have read the *Cosmographie Universelle* of François de Belleforest,[5] though here again his borrowings can be traced chiefly in the second play. Petrus Bizarus, in his *Persicarum rerum historia* (1583), gives the same composite account as many of the compilers of the second half of the century, drawing liberally upon Perondinus, often quoting verbatim and often mingling phrases from the *Magni Tamerlanis* . . . *Vita* with descriptions which go back as far as Chalcondylas. He reproduces, what is rather less usual, Perondinus's version of Persian politics in the period immediately preceding Tamburlaine's kingship.[6] Another compiler, an

[1] For the passages in Newton's version which refer to Tamburlaine, see Appendix D.

[2] See *Fresh Sources for Marlowe*, by Ethel Seaton, *Review of English Studies*, Oct., 1929. Hallett Smith adds to these Loys Le Roy: *La Vicissitude ou Variété des Choses en l'Univers*. (1575).

[3] See note to II. II. iii. 20. [4] See Introduction, *post*, pp. 41–3.

[5] See *Fresh Sources for Marlowe*, pp. 394–8 and Introduction, *post*, pp. 44, 45 note. [6] See Introduction, *ante*, p. 28 and note.

immediate successor to Bizarus, Pierre de la Primaudaye, whose book, originally published in 1577, was translated into English in 1586 (*The French Academy . . . By Peter de la Primaudaye . . . translated into English by T.B.*), also follows Perondinus both in this and in other details in his brief summary of the career and character of Tamburlaine.[1] Too late presumably for Marlowe to have seen them, but of some general interest because of the light they throw on knowledge more or less generally diffused at the time, are Leunclavius's Latin translation of his fellow-countryman Gaudius' German version of some invaluable Turkish materials (*Annales Sultanorum Othmanidorum*, 1588), the first of the Oriental versions of the story to enter Europe, and his *Supplements* and *Pandects*. In 1595 Jean du Bec wrote his *Historie du Grand Empereur Tamerlanes* . . . 'tirée des monuments antiques des Arabes', (which Arabs or what ancient records it remains impossible to say). The translation of this pseudo-oriental version (1597) was of great service to Knolles (*The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, 1603)[2] and to Purchas (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625), but Purchas, it must be acknowledged, had the wit to wonder whether Alhacon's version cited by Jean du Bec is always to be taken literally. In the seventeenth century the increase in the number of authentic and reliable reports was considerable, but our present purpose is rather with the unauthentic and unreliable sixteenth-century saga upon which Marlowe drew for the career and character of his Tamburlaine.

Marlowe's Sources. In the list of some forty authors in whose writings Marlowe could have found some account of the career of Tīmūr, there are very few of whom we are prepared to say with certainty 'Marlowe has read this',

[1] For the references to Tamburlaine, which are brief, but definitely reminiscent of Perondinus, see chap. xliv. Of Fortune (p. 475, ed. 1586) and chap. xxiii. Of Glory (p. 253). To these sources must now be added the accounts given by Andre Thevet in *Les Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres* (1584) and by George Whetstone in *The English Myrror* (1586). To the latter of these considerable importance now attaches. (See Preface to Second Edition and Appendix C.)

[2] H. G. Dick points out that Marlowe may, after all, have had access to the unpublished MS. of Knolles' *Historie* in the houses of the Manwoods.

only two or three of which we would say ' Marlowe read this and was moved by it ', while there are a certain number which, though far more tensely charged with life than the imitative general historians, are obviously so alien to Marlowe's purpose and mood that we can say with certainty ' These he did not consider '.

It is, then, with the first two groups that we are concerned. There is a long list of authors from any one of whom, or from a combination of two or three of whom, Marlowe could have drawn nearly all the episodes in the first part of the play which can be traced. From Palmerius, Platina, Crinitus, Pius II, Cambinus (either in the original or in Shute's translation), Giovio (the original or Ashton's translation), Cuspinian, Christopherus Richerius, Muenster, Sagundinus, Curio (the original or Newton's translation), Granucci or Lonicerus, from these he could have learnt the simple outline of events that delighted European romancers before they were tested by comparison with the authentic oriental traditions.[1]

[1] He would have learnt from practically all of them that Tamburlaine was *born in* or near *Scythia* (I italicize the material in this common saga which he actually used) *of poor parents*, that he *was a shepherd* and *led a troop of robbers with whose aid he conquered the adjoining country*, variously named, and, *making for himself a foothold thereby, proceeded to greater and greater conquests.* That he was *distinguished for courage, energy, fixity of purpose*, for *transcendant military genius and great administrative ability.* Most of them would support this by a description of the *orderliness of Tamburlaine's vast camp. After a career of conquest he met Bajazet, emperor of the Turks in* Armenia or *Bithynia*, at Ancora or *near Mount Stella. He conquered Bajazet and took him captive*, some say together *with his wife who was kept in slavery; Bajazet was* loaded with chains, some say of gold, *put in a cage and carried about as a spectacle of ridicule on Tamburlaine's expeditions. He was* put under Tamburlaine's table at his meals and *forced to feed upon scraps that Tamburlaine threw to him* like a dog. Further, when Tamburlaine mounted his horse he *used Bajazet as a footstool* or mounting-block. *He continued an unbroken career of conquest*, being only once turned back, by the Egyptian or Arabian desert. *Among his most famous military achievements* were the sieges of Sebastia, Aleppo, *Damascus*, which he took with a cleverly constructed siege engine. *When besieging a city it was his custom to change the colour of his tent day by day, from white to red, from red to black. By the time the third day was reached and the black tent erected, the town which had held out so defiantly could expect no mercy. One city did indeed, after holding out till the third day, send an embassy* of women and children, or girls and boys, *dressed in white* and carrying olive branches *to beg for mercy. Tamburlaine ordered them to be slain by a charge of cavalry.* A man in his camp who knew him well expostulated with him for this act of brutality and Tamburlaine replied with furiously flashing eyes, ' Do you think I am only a man ?

With so much common matter so widely diffused, is it possible to say which are likeliest to have been Marlowe's sources or to find any details which suggest that he must at least have looked into a certain book? I think it is. The names of Chalcondylas, Haytoun, Fregoso, Mexia, Perondinus, Thevet, Whetstone and Primaudaye are conspicuously missing from the formidable list of concurrent authorities mentioned above because, happily, there are episodes or interpretations of character which Marlowe's play shares only [1] with these writers and suggest that to these at least we can point with some degree of probability. Chalcondylas alone, of all the writers cited here, repeats the widespread eastern tradition that Tīmūr felt for his first and chief wife a respect and affection unusual among his race. The wife of Themir, in Chalcondylas's history, is a woman of power and wisdom to whose judgement the Khan defers and whom he consults even upon matters of state and military policy. She tries to prevent a war between Pajasites and Themir and Themir listens to her advice and adopts a conciliatory attitude until the conduct of the Turkish ruler becomes unsufferable and she of her own accord gives consent to the war. Here, and here alone, seems to be the outline of that relationship from which Marlowe draws so much of the poetry of the first part of his play and the poignancy of the second. The love of Tamburlaine for Zenocrate may have been his own supreme addition to the story, but it is perhaps worth noticing that he could have chanced upon this part of the Byzantine narrative without reading the account of Themir's career in

I am the wrath of God and the ruin of the world.' At some point in his career a certain city named Capha was forced to yield up its treasure by a clever stratagem of Tamburlaine's. After a life of conquests he returned to his own country laden with spoils and captives and established himself there in *his own city of Samarqand*. He *left two sons behind him* who were incapable of carrying on their father's career, and lost his Empire.

[1] Or, to be more precise, there is one aspect of Tamburlaine's character which finds a counterpart only in Chalcondylas's version, another which appears similarly in Haytoun's, and a series of interesting episodes in Marlowe's play traceable only to Fregoso, Mexia, Perondinus, Primaudaye and Bizarus, from any one of whom, or from all jointly, Marlowe may have gathered them.

the third book, for it comes by itself at the end of the second. Chalcondylas is a discursive writer, and, though he was available in a Latin translation from 1556 onward,[1] Marlowe may well, as an editor is unhappily not permitted to do, have thrown the book aside after a few pages of the third part and turned to more succinct and graphic sources.

Such sources he would have found in the Latin (a language that certainly was familiar to him) of Fregoso or Perondinus, in the Spanish of Mexia or the Italian, French or English of his translators, in the French of Primaudaye or the English of his translator. One series of episodes, already remarked in Fregoso's account,[2] the steps by which Tamburlaine passes from a Scythian shepherd to become king of Persia—the winning over of the leader of the thousand horse, the support given to the brother who is intriguing against the king of Persia and the final displacement of that brother by Tamburlaine from the throne he had raised him to—appears to be unhistorical and to be found only in Fregoso, Mexia, Perondinus, Bizarus and Primaudaye. Mexia undoubtedly drew much from Fregoso, as he himself acknowledges, and from any one of these five Marlowe could derive also the other features of the composite story as it is outlined above. A certain amount of importance has been attached to Mexia's phrasing in the description of Tamburlaine's three sets of tents [3] but we cannot, I think, build upon this the assumption that Marlowe read the Spanish original, though there is nothing to prove that he did not. The description of Bajazet serving as footstool to Tamburlaine, which, owing to the manipulations of the translators did not appear in Fortescue's English version,[4] might have been found by Mar-

[1] Clauserus, *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis, de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum Libri Decem*, etc. Basle, 1556.

[2] See *ante*, p. 28. [3] See note, p. 139.

[4] See Appendix C and notes. But it does appear in Whetstone's version in *The English Myrror*, and T. C. Izard (*M L.N.*, June 1943) suggests that this rather than Fortescue's *Foreste* was the immediate source of Marlowe's story.

lowe in the chapter on Bajazet in the Italian or French translations or in the chapter on Tamburlaine in Mexia's original, but here again it might have been drawn from Perondinus's brief but sufficiently graphic comment or any one of the authors who reproduce it. Perhaps the only passage in Marlowe's play which carries us back to Mexia (or his translators) rather than to Fregoso, Perondinus or Primaudaye is the lament of Zenocrate over the deaths of Bajazet and Zabina (Act. V. Sc. ii.) which holds the very note of those meditations upon the transitoriness of earthly glory that is the key to Mexia's interpretation and is otherwise disregarded by Marlowe. With Perondinus, however, there are close likenesses of phrasing, especially in the description of Tamburlaine (Granucci also gives such a description, but it does not suggest Marlowe's as does Perondinus's), besides the strong main likenesses of tone and purpose.

It is then, as has been long acknowledged, with Mexia and with Perondinus that we are mainly concerned as the written sources of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, and to these we may add the interpretation put upon the character by Haytoun.[1] Marlowe's treatment of both of these is in many ways similar. He takes from them the salient elements of the career of Tamburlaine, simplifying and condensing so as to give the clear impression of a swift and unchecked rise surmounting by its power all opposition until opposition itself falters and Tamburlaine moves through a world of subject kings and prostrate empires. He omits, as is inevitable in the conversion of narrative into drama, all those episodes which lie outside this or are redundant. Thus, the early years of Tamburlaine are only hinted at and the events that followed his death, the break-up of his empire, are but dimly forecast in the characters of his three sons. He passes directly from the

[1] To these we may add again the brief summary given by Primaudaye obviously from Perondinus and Bizarus's account which often quotes him verbatim. In either case the original is still Perondinus.

winning of Theridamas to the preparations against Bajazet ; omitting a list of minor conquests which would clog the action and take from the effect of Tamburlaine's comet-like movements. For the same reason he does not dwell upon the organization of the Scythian camp and the military engines used, especially for sieges, both of which are treated at length by the historians and are historical facts of some importance.[1] He admits no checks to Tamburlaine's career, such as his turning back before the impassable Arabian desert, for it is the essence of this spirit to transcend all earthly bounds. His is a magnificent but dizzy progress. All that could diminish or humanize him by partial failure is stripped away. By such means as these a swiftness of movement is given to the play which is lacking to the far shorter prose accounts. The character of Tamburlaine is isolated in its fearless splendour, its insolence and its command by a number of other omissions. The love of his own country with which both Mexia and Perondinus credit him is reduced to a phrase or two about 'Samarcanda, where I breathed first', for the Tamburlaine of the play is of no age and of no country ; he is the everlasting embodiment of the unslaked aspiration of youth. So again, little details that in Perondinus's account make for individuality are wiped out, particularly that occasional meanness, craftiness, perfidy which colours the Italian author's description. Marlowe drew his colours from a surer poetic source and had no need of such worldly knowledge as that of the astute and mature Perondinus. The story of the friend of Tamburlaine who expostulated with him for his ruthlessness has gone, except for the ringing phrase about the Scourge of God. No man, in the first part of the tale, criticizes ; all are sunk in a profound, mesmeric adoration.

[1] It may be remarked that some of this material found its way into the second part of the play when Marlowe had partially exhausted the interest of Tamburlaine's career and was at a loss for episodes to fill out the play.

One more detail Marlowe deliberately alters from the combined version of Mexia and Perondinus,[1] the comparison between Tamburlaine and Bajazet—again to emphasize, though more cheaply this time and by a device we would willingly be rid of, the power of Tamburlaine's single brain. In the originals the army of Tamburlaine is as great as Bajazet's, some say greater, or better equipped. Marlowe, to whom Bajazet is after all, only a foil for Tamburlaine, throws the balance the other way and the Persians and Scythians have the glory of conquest over numbers many times exceeding theirs. Bajazet, again, and his Turks are valiant men, heroic fighters for whom even the later chroniclers feel a measure of sympathy, but Marlowe reduces the dignity and the valour of Bajazet, presenting him as a self-indulgent, headstrong Oriental, thus leaving Tamburlaine secure in our undivided sympathy.

An integral part of his interpretation is the inspiration of Zenocrate's beauty, that beauty a sense of which is mysteriously inseparable from valour and deprived of which Tamburlaine's aspiration sinks back upon itself in gloomy and savage rage. Acting upon hints from Perondinus (but not from Mexiā), he has also given character and personality to certain of the minor figures who can be so treated as to enhance the colouring of Tamburlaine; the Soldan, Theridamas, Cosroe and particularly Mycetes and Calyphas.

Such modifications as these tend to simplify the story and to make the figure of Tamburlaine stand out clearly from its background. This is the natural process of Marlowe's intellect, and it is precisely how we should expect to find him handling a large mass of somewhat amorphous material, reducing it to clarity and continuity, to shapeliness and to the service of one strong clear thought. When he is writing freely he does not reproduce his sources. He finds in certain records a figure, a series of events, a situation

[1] The version of Primaudaye is so much condensed that little opportunity is left for this distinction. Hugh G. Dick points out that Jean Bodin's exaltation of Tamburlaine over Bajazet is close to Marlowe's.

which seems shaped by nature to hold, or almost to hold, his own burning thought. The figure, the event is informed with the thought and, behold, the place that knew it knows it no more; it is not Chalcondylas or Mexia or Perondinus or Haytoun but the idea of which they had been but faint reflexions.

Additional Sources of Part II. Of the events and episodes available to Marlowe when he wrote the first part of *Tamburlaine*, very few had been omitted. There was, consequently, little left of the original legend when a second part was to be written. He had, beyond doubt, a clear conception of the development the chief character should suffer, and this differed so far from the conception of the first part as to endanger the effectiveness of a play written on similar lines. His sympathies and comments seem, in the same way, to be continually breaking away from the tradition he himself had established; he must have longed already to be at work on other material. In this situation, then, with his sources for the life already drained and his sympathies no longer strongly enough engaged to stimulate his imagination to constructive plotting, he seems to have been driven to eke out his material by introducing irrelevant episodes, some of which he weaves in skilfully, others of which are, and look like, padding. The earliest and chief of these is an elaborate sub-plot, the series of episodes whereby Orcanes, now the Turkish leader, enters into a peace treaty with Sigismund of Hungary and the European Christians, is betrayed and taken in the rear by them, yet nevertheless defeats them in the battle they had sacrificed their honour to bring about. The name Sigismund is that of the Hungarian leader contemporary with Tamburlaine, who endeavoured to raise the siege of Constantinople in 1397, from which Bajazet was only drawn by the approach of the Tartar forces which he was forced to meet at Ancora. All the rest is a neat transposition of the events that led up to the battle of Varna in 1444, wherein

Amurath II defeated Vladislaus of Poland and Hungary, who had sworn a truce with him and then, urged by the other nations of the Christian League, had taken him at a disadvantage and marched into his territory after he had withdrawn his forces. It all seems a little irrelevant both to the action and to the general sentiment of the play, for Orcanes' triumph serves few purposes in the narrative; it does not serve to make him appear a great potentate and his subsequent defeat by Tamburlaine is expected before it comes, while, on the other hand, his rather poignant and suggestive speeches on treachery and the chivalric law of arms make a jarring contrast with the frivolous and fantastic mood of the scenes in which he and the other captive kings ultimately appear. This is partly because Marlowe, lacking a truer incentive, follows his sources fairly closely for the details of the episode without regarding the effect which the episode would have upon the continuity of sentiment or action. The source was, as has been recently pointed out,[1] the account of Bonfinius, *Antonii Bonfinii Rerum Ungaricarum decades quattuor* (1543), supplemented by Callimachus, *Callimachi Experientis de clade Varnensi* (1556). This was reprinted in the popular *Turcicorum Chronicorum Tomi Duo* . . . of Philippus Lonicerus (1578). These accounts, but particularly that of Bonfinius, are closely followed by Marlowe. The pact between the Turks and the Christians, sought by the Turks, was confirmed by an oath on both sides, the Christians swearing by the Gospel and the Turks by the Koran.[2] Amurath then withdrew his forces into Carmania, leaving Turkish Europe undefended. Meanwhile the other members of the Christian League were ill-satisfied with this peace concluded by one of their members singly and pressure was brought to bear on the Hungarians. The Papal Legate, Cardinal Julian, in an impassioned oration besought them to consider that the

[1] E. Seaton, *Times Lit. Supp.*, June 16, 1921, p. 388.

[2] For the close parallels between the Latin of Bonfinius and Marlowe's play, see the notes to the second Act of Part II.

league with the Turk was but a breaking of faith with the rest of the Christian League; that it was the duty of a Christian to circumvent the infidel by any means in his power; that the Turk had never kept faith with the Christians and therefore could not expect faith from them; that it had ever been accounted a crime to observe oaths that were manifestly evil in themselves.[1] He ended by absolving them in the Pope's name from their oath to Amurath, who had meanwhile faithfully carried out his side of the terms. Vladislaus then gathered an army and marched into Bulgaria, the Cardinal urging him on and the Turkish forts and towns falling without resistance. Amurath heard the news, gathered an army, recrossed the Hellespont and marched to Varna on the Black Sea coast. The fight was long and bitter and fate seemed against the Turks when Amurath caught sight of the Crucifix on the Christian banners and pulling out from the fold of his robe the treaty broken by the Christians, lifted it to heaven and exclaimed (to use the words in which Knolles later translated)[2] 'Now if thou be a God as they say thou art, and as we dreame, revenge the wrong now done unto thy name and me.' Thereafter the fate of the battle changed and the Christians were defeated. Vladislaus and the Cardinal were killed and large numbers of their host who were not drowned in the Danube were made slaves by the Turks. Marlowe's likeness to this account is striking, even to verbal resemblance, so much so as to suggest hasty assimilation of matter which could be used to eke out his play.

The next event in the play, the escape of Callapine, who is defeated in the last Act but saves his life through the death of Tamburlaine, is generally referred to in many of the histories of Bajazet's life and is very slightly treated by Marlowe. It is set in motion before the episode of Sigismund and Orcanes is completed, but it is unconnected

[1] For the close reproduction of these arguments in Marlowe's version of the story, see, again, II. II. i and the notes *passim*.

[2] See II. II. ii. and the notes.

with it and does not bear any relation to the other episodes of the play, most of which are similarly borrowed and loosely affiliated to the figure of Tamburlaine without any further linking together. The episodes with Tamburlaine, Zenocrate and their sons are developed by Marlowe perhaps from the slight hints of some biographers that Tamburlaine's children fell below their father in military achievements, though one Oriental source, probably unknown to Marlowe, tells of the Spartan upbringing he gave them. All his own is the character of Calyphas, in which it seems he preferred to isolate and develop the hint of degeneracy which some of the chroniclers give to both of Tamburlaine's sons; Marlowe thus, by a stroke of nature, leaves the two surviving sons respectful and awestruck, but utterly unendowed with genius. The death of Zenocrate, like the rest of the domestic episodes of this part, has not yet been traced to a source. It is probably Marlowe's own; there are passages in the scene as mature as *Edward II* and touched with the same weary fullness of reflection; a strange revelation of the rapidity of imaginative experience.

The next episode of any magnitude, is the taking of Balsera by Theridamas and Techelles in which the capture of Olympia can also be traced to a popular source, the story of Isabella and her persecution by Rodomont in Cantos XXVIII and XXIX of *Orlando Furioso*, combined with an episode narrated by Belleforest in his *Cosmographie*. Ariosto gives the story at some length. In Marlowe's hands it suffers dramatic condensation, and we no longer follow in detail the process by which the herbs for the magic ointment (it is a lotion with Ariosto) are culled and brewed under the strict surveillance of the lover. The author's long eulogy of Isabella and account of her apotheosis gives place to a brief epitaph fitly spoken by Theridamas, who has never perjured himself or proved so base or so heartless as Rodomont.

The resemblance of Marlowe's story to Ariosto's is so

general and so few of the more notable elements of Marlowe's dialogues appear in Ariosto that the adaptation of the story makes it mainly his own. If he used Ariosto at all it must have been either through a report of the tale or from a memory of it recurring from a perhaps not very recent reading.[1]

Yet another though far briefer portion of this second part can be traced to its original, the undramatic and barely relevant speech on fortification which Tamburlaine delivers to his two sons (II. III. ii. 62–82).[2]

The close resemblance of this passage to parts of Paul Ive's *Practise of Fortification* so clearly pointed out by M. Danchin makes it evident that Marlowe had certainly had this book in his hands and had deliberately incorporated a passage which took his fancy there along with the other heterogeneous borrowings with which he eked out the play.

[1] The possibility of his having seen Harington's translation (pub. 1591) in manuscript must, of course, be considered, but there are no close resemblances between Marlowe's phrasing and that of Harington in the passages under discussion.

Miss Seaton (*R.E.S.*, Oct., 1929, pp. 395–6) points out that the earlier part of Marlowe's episode may be derived from Belleforest's account of an incident in the siege of Rhodes, where the mistress of the Governor of the fort killed and burned her children, to keep them from falling into the hands of the infidels. Thus Marlowe appears to have combined two stories, that of the Rhodian heroine and that of Ariosto's Isabella, with the corresponding changes in detail.

[2] In an article in the *Revue Germanique* (Jan.–Fév. 1912): *En marge de la seconde partie de Tamburlaine*, M. F. C. Danchin points out that these lines are an almost verbal reproduction of the similar description in Paul Ive's *Practise of Fortification* (pub. 1589); a portion of the passage to which attention is there drawn may be quoted here:

'Who so shall fortifie in playne ground, may make the fort he pretendeth of what forme of figure he will and therefore he may with less compasse of wall enclose a more superficies of ground, then where that scope may not be had. Also it may be the perfecter because the angles that do happen in it, may be made the flatter or sharper. Moreover the ground in plains is good to make ramperts of, and easie for cariage, but where water wanteth, the building is costly and chargeable, for that a fort scituated in a dry plain, must have deep ditches, high walls, great bulwarks, large ramparts, and cavalieros: besides it must be great to lodge five or six thousand men, and have great place in it for them to fight, ranked in battaile. It must also have countermines, privie ditches, secret issuinges out to defend the ditche, casmats in the ditch, covered ways round about it, and an argine or banke to empeache the approach.' (Chapter II.) As M. Danchin points out, the name 'quinque angle', which Marlowe borrowed, occurs in Chapter III, in a passage 'que Marlowe ne semble pas avoir compris'. (See *Rev. Germ.*, pp. 27–30.)

In studying the relations of these two parts to the materials upon which they are based it becomes clear that the true poetic fusion of material, by which isolated facts are transmuted into a consistent interpretation of life and the material of a portion of life so shaped that that form itself constitutes an interpretation, can only be traced in the first part. The first part alone reveals Marlowe's mind at work on a characteristic structure; much of the second, though flashes of power and passages of thought as clear as anything in the earlier part occur at intervals throughout, is, by comparison, journeyman work. The form of the whole is no longer an inevitable expression of an underlying idea and the facts or episodes which are used stand out as separate portions of a piece of composite building, and do not appear so far subsidiary as to be merely incidental to an overmastering conception.

One other general source of *Tamburlaine*—and not the least significant—remains, in the examination of which we find confirmation of the belief, already suggested in this sketch, that Marlowe's mind was that of a fine scholar no less than of a poet. The extent of Marlowe's geographical knowledge has been the subject of as interesting a change of opinion during the last fifty or sixty years as any other aspect of his mind or thought. Most of the nineteenth-century critics who edited or commented upon his works, finding apparently inexplicable inconsistencies between the modern maps of Africa, Asia, Europe and the allusions in Marlowe's work (particularly in the two parts of *Tamburlaine*), assumed, not unreasonably, that his knowledge of territories unfamiliar to Elizabethan Englishmen was slight, conjectural and amply eked out with imagination. His topography lapsed into strange fancies: Zanzibar was assigned to the west coast of Africa and the Danube flowed into the Mediterranean Sea.[1]

[1] The explanation of the course of the Danube is not traceable to Ortelius, but to other sources. See notes to II. I. i. 37.

It was not till recently, when Miss Seaton's researches on *Tamburlaine* led her to investigate this puzzle more closely, that the stigma was removed.[1] When the place-names of *Tamburlaine*, particularly of the second play, are checked against those of the Elizabethan cartographers whose works Marlowe might have consulted, it becomes clear that Ortelius, the compiler of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, is the immediate source of much of Marlowe's information,[2] including the curious fact that Zanzibar is a West African district.[3] In her study of *Marlowe's Map*, Miss Seaton explained away these divagations, traced the campaigns of Tamburlaine and of his adversaries, and in every case in which Marlowe's accuracy has been called in question, pointed to Ortelius as the source which he followed faithfully and as the explanation of the hitherto insoluble riddles in *Tamburlaine*:

'As we follow these tracks through the *Theatrum*, the conviction grows that Marlowe used this source at least with the accuracy of a scholar and the commonsense of a merchant-venturer, as well as with the imagination of a poet. The assurance is all the more welcome as it supports the growing belief, expressed by such a critic as Swinburne, and by such an authority on Marlowe as Professor Tucker Brooke, that he was something more than a dramatist of swashbuckling violence and chaotic inconsequence—a *Miles Gloriosus* of English drama. Here we find order for chaos, something of the delicate precision of the draughtsman, for the crude formlessness of the impressionist. Panoramic though his treatment may be, there is method in his seven-league-booted strides. We wrong Marlowe if, in our eagerness to praise his high moments of poetic inspiration, we mistakenly depreciate his qualities of intellect, of mental

[1] See *Marlowe's Map* by Ethel Seaton. *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. X, 1924.

[2] Especially the maps of *Africa*, *Tartaria*, *Persiae Regnum*, *Terra Sancta*, *Egyptia*, *Natolia* and *Turcicum Imperium*.

[3] See note to II. I. vi. 67–8.

curiosity and logical construction. We do him wrong, being so majestical, to see in him only this show of violence.'[1]

It is gratifying to have this circumstantial and almost scientific proof of a quality of mind which some of his critics have long recognized in Marlowe; the harmony of intellect and imagination which makes him stand out, even among Elizabethans, by his thirst for exactitude and scientific detail and the power to clothe again the skeleton transmitted by records with spirit and with reality. The last apparent inconsistency in his temperament has been cleared up; there is no longer a discrepancy between the acute, logical thinker, the friend and equal of Ralegh and Harriott and the poet-topographer of the Mongol Empire. Marlowe was, after all, as accurate a geographer as Harriott.

Such, briefly, are the chief sources from which Marlowe drew the material for his play and such the modifications inevitable in his conversion of them. But more significant than these is the revelation of Marlowe's own habit of mind which is implicit in his treatment of his authorities.[2]

Marlowe's treatment of his Sources. It is after all but a slight response that Marlowe makes to the simple medieval tragedy of Mexia and the saturnine melancholy of Perondinus. He had not yet the power to keep the pathos with which Mexia invests Bajazet without thereby revealing Tamburlaine's masterfulness to be mere brutality, his aspiration to be coarse insolence, his progress a devastating march of crude destruction and unchivalric self-glorification. To harmonize these two themes was assuredly beyond Marlowe's strength when he wrote *Tamburlaine* as it was beyond his immediate purpose. Mexia's account is not that of a poet but of a moralist of some dignity and the reflective comment which is perhaps the greatest charm of the original was not germane to Marlowe's purpose. His debt is that of a poet who finds in his source the bare matter of the story, but not his own interpretation or

[1] *Marlowe's Map*, p. 34.

[2] Hugh G. Dick points out that, although Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes* cannot be claimed as a source of *Tamburlaine*, the fact that Marlowe may have had access to it must be considered, especially in view of the significant kinship of mind between the two writers which is revealed at certain points

orientation. Even Perondinus's version, much closer to his purpose, is seen upon nearer view to be radically altered. Marlowe puts aside the ever-present hint of waste which, in Perondinus, dims the glory of Tamburlaine's aspiration but reveals, lurking behind, the futility and the pity of it. He takes the character that Perondinus has described and, entering more deeply and more exultantly into its aspirations and its dreams, shuts his eyes to the gloom and desolation which was the price of this brief blaze of glory. He isolates it alike from cause and consequence; it is self-contained, self-justified. He converts Perondinus's brief prose epic, with its breadth of survey and its sense of the relations of cause and effect, into the drama of an individual brought so close to the spectator that it hides the background. Not only does he change the position of Tamburlaine in the picture, but he lays less emphasis upon the brutality, the hungry, almost aimless barbarianism, the lust for slaughter, wreckage and waste. His Tamburlaine is ruthless, but only because of his undeviating pursuit of a vision and it is this vision with which Marlowe has dowered him. He has some of the passion and the poetry of Alexander. Perondinus knew well enough what destruction and havoc these half-tamed Tartars worked; he never spared the long recital of cities wrecked, fanes destroyed, the monuments of civilization overthrown. Marlowe gives a picture softened (as it is in part with Mexia) by analogy with the stories of irresistible and glorious conquerors of classical story, illuminated with Alexander's beauty, coloured by the pictures of Xenophon, so that the waste and destruction of what can never be replaced recedes into the distance and sunset mists. Marlowe cheats us into thinking that this too has a strange, perverse beauty of its own, a deception that only a very young man could practise on himself or on us. He is still too immature to know the meaning of civilization, too limited to perceive that though man civilized has many stains upon him, man uncivilized

has all of these and many more. That knowledge was to come later; I think there is no attempt to deny it in *Edward II* or in *Hero and Leander*. Meanwhile he exults in the vigour of his Scythian warriors (surely one of the strangest pictures of primitive fighting men to be found on record?) and tumbles down light-heartedly the towers of Babylon where 'Belus, Ninus, and great Alexander Have rode in triumph'. The overwhelming pathos and pity escape him. In the second part, where the career of destruction begins to pall, this is no longer always so and the mood of Mexia and of Perondinus makes itself felt. But the poet who had, in a moment of maturity and wisdom, written the beautiful lament of Zenocrate over Tamburlaine's love of earthly glory, still puts resolutely from him that half-incoherent sense of the pity of things which was later to be one of the deepest-lying springs of his poetry. He is forcing his genius, in this later part, and not only forcing it along a line which it no longer desired to follow, but retarding its due development, deliberately postponing that later phase in which, an intuition seems to have told him, the strange wisdom of tragic perception would strike dumb the arrogance upon which his power was now resting.

The 'debt' of Marlowe to his sources is, then, in the nature of things, as small as any poet's. Of all his contemporaries, he can say with most assurance, 'I call no man father in England but myself.' Neither in England, nor in Europe; not even in Scythia. For his Tamburlaine, brushing aside the interpreters, goes to the root of the truth which they laboriously overlook, sees the spirit 'lift upward and divine' though it mistake itself and deceive him in hungering for 'the sweet fruition of an earthly crown'. Separated by race, creed, tradition and civilization he has yet a kinship with the great Tartan Khan that lies deeper than any of these, the kinship of genius with genius. Timūr would hardly have recognized his mind and his desire in any of the portraits so painstakingly painted by the historians

from the middle of the fifteenth century onward. There is much in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* that he would have known for the very echo of his own youth ; I believe there are things there of which he alone, besides Marlowe, would have known the full significance.

This being so, it is idle to do more in the case of Marlowe than to remark such outward resemblance as his story bears to his originals. The process by which he came to his real knowledge is his own, and the possession of information, after the bare, essential outline was gained, had little to do with it. Like a later poet, he seems to have known consciously or unconsciously in early youth that deeper than the truth of fact lies the truth of the imagination. Perhaps there is no great poet who has not been aware of or at least obeyed the law implied in Keats's words. The dwellers in the suburbs of art submit themselves to experiences and immerse themselves in the world of action, hoping so to appease the longing for strange horizons and shoreless seas. The great imaginative poet has no need of this ; China seas and the skyline of the Gobi desert are no more to him than the embodiment of that ideal form that his soul already holds. To have seen is sometimes, for such minds, to have lost, to have made limited matter of fact what would else have remained the limitless world of the imagination. What the imagination seizes upon as beauty must be truth ; what the eye passes on to the imagination as an impression of an actual experience may be untrue to the essential spirit both of the beholder and of the thing beheld. Marlowe's mind ranged over the kingdoms of the world and their glory ; it were folly to believe that such a mind could best thrive by a dutiful apprenticeship to historical record or to the experience of everyday life.

This free movement of poetic imagination does not involve —as has been sometimes implied—vagueness or confused observation, either of books or of men. Marlowe's absorption in what he read seems to have been as profound, his

memories as clear cut, as that of the most precise scholar among his contemporaries, whether the object of his study were a record, a poem or a map. His numerous allusions in *Tamburlaine* to single phrases and details of Ovid's work would alone be enough to support this, were it not substantiated by the evidence of his treatment of the maps of Ortelius and his memory of the work of Virgil, Cicero, Lucan, Horace and of the special records upon which he drew for his other plays. But accuracy of study and retentiveness of memory is one thing, the free imaginative handling of what has been so retained, another and a rarer. In thinking of the process of Marlowe's mind, it must never be forgotten that he combines the scientific precision of a fine scholar with the wide imaginative scope of a great poet, a combination rare at all times and among Englishmen perhaps only possessed in greater degree by Milton.[1]

When the substance of Marlowe's story has been traced to its sources and his indebtedness therein acknowledged, all that remains is his own; the poetic conception that makes his play the only interpretation of genius that the life and aspiration of Tīmūr has ever received. He finds in the half-obliterated records of this aspiration an echo of his own, as yet untried and unquenched. Mind rushes to mind and the inevitable union is achieved across the barrier of years and race. All that has intervened drops into insignificance; all that is not part of this transcendant vision falls aside as irrelevant. Marlowe finds in Tīmūr, as he found later in Faustus, as he never perhaps found or sought again, the indication of a mind tuned as his own was to the reverberations of strange, earth-shaking thunder, to the beauty and the glancing terror that beset man on that strange journey that is his destiny. It is the radiance of youth, to which fear lends rather exhilaration than awe, that colours the earlier play. Power radiates from Marlowe, as from Tīmūr, power such as the relatively weary minds

[1] Hugh G Dick, in arguing that Marlowe may have known the work of Knolles in MS., points to the kinship of the two minds. 'The history and the play are fired with the same grandeur of style and the same intensity of vision; and this æsthetic kinship is more significant than

of common men rouse themselves in vain to contemplate. Only such men as were Tīmūr and Marlowe can feel with awful exultation the sweep of the great forces in the grip of which they are carried and which it seems just within their power to guide and to control. Marlowe, possessed of the same strange spirit which he discerns in Tīmūr's vision, ' Looks out upon the winds with glorious fear ' and in that breathless joy creates the Tamburlaine of the play.

Tamburlaine embodies at first a poet's conception of the life of action, a glorious dream of quickened emotions, of exhilaration and stimulus that should ' strip the mind of the lethargy of custom ', tear the veils from its eyes and lay bare before it in all-satisfying glory the arcana where the secret of life dwells, a secret ever elusive yet ever troubling men's desire. In happy exultation Marlowe fills with this figure the earlier scenes, unsuspicious of the crude, blunt passions that must necessarily be called up by blood and the intoxication of battle, of the wary vigilance, the practical alertness by which alone a rebel leader can preserve his life, the things that steal away the moment of vision and subdue the glowing colours of which ' youthful poets dream '. But as the first part of the play proceeds, his Tamburlaine changes. Marlowe himself perceives this strange conflict between the service of valour and the service of that beauty upon which valour yet depends. For a time a union between them is yet possible; the ' sum of glory ' is ' that virtue ' which can conceive and yet control the emotions stirred by beauty; the poet, exalted above the world of dreams and the world of actuality, holds both to their true task, shaping both to the service of supreme vision. In the second part of the play Tamburlaine changes still more; Marlowe had begun to perceive the discrepancy between his dream of the life of action and the world of practical life. The imaginative working out of his story had been enough to teach him this. There is little exultation or aspiration, only an overstrained repetition and exaggeration, a vigorous

but futile effort to stimulate a tired imagination and to sweep again into the tireless, spontaneous rhythms of the earlier part.

But though the later figure fails of its earlier poetry, all is not lost. There is a gain in poignancy and in humanity. Tamburlaine, who breaks down into frenzy and half-insane rhetorical hyperbole, is humanly nearer to our understanding than the impenetrable, soaring visionary of the first part. The same can be said of many of the other characters. When Tamburlaine ceases to blind us with his unearthly splendour we are free to perceive them, not merely as obedient parts of the background, but as themselves potential centres of drama. Zenocrate, who only speaks effectively once in the first part, when, in the absence of Tamburlaine, she chants the moving lament over the Turkish monarchs and the prayer against Tamburlaine's worship of the glory of the world, commands not only the courtiers but Tamburlaine himself when she lies on her death-bed:

'I fare, my Lord as other Empresses
'That when this fraile and transitory flesh
'Hath sucked the measure of that vitall aire
'That feeds the body with his dated health,
'Wanes with enforst and necessary change.'

These are not fitting words for the presence of that Tamburlaine who held 'the Fates last bound in iron chains'; nor is it to such a man that they are spoken, but to a man who will falter in the midst of his threats to 'Batter the shining palace of the sun' and cry:

'If thou pittiest *Tamburlaine* the great
'Come down from heaven and live with me againe.'

The deliberate isolating and dehumanizing of his character in the earlier part has its artistic reward here: 'Though she be dead, yet let me think she lives,' and it is Theridamas who has followed him through the conquest of the world, who tenderly and gravely draws him away: 'This raging cannot make her live.' In the same way the minor char-

acters move forward from their subordinate positions and show themselves to have been but obscured by the excess of light turned upon the central figure. That removed, individuality is revealed in them. Theridamas attempts his conquest of Olympia; Calyphas, reared in the purple and cynically untouched by the harsh virtues of a father whose sword has raised him from obscurity, makes his gallant and humorous protest against the Scythian cult of arms; Orcanes, the inheritor of the rule of Bajazet, speaks, before melodrama claims him as its victim, the only lines in the later play which are fraught either with the tremulous passion or the clear thought of the earlier part:

'Then if there be a Christ, as Christians say,
'But in their deeds deny him for their Christ: . . .
'Open thou shining veil of *Cynthia*
'And make a passage from the imperial heaven
'That he that sits on high and never sleeps,
'Nor in one place is circumscriptible
'But every where fills every Continent,
'With strange infusion of his sacred vigour,
'May in his endless power and purity
'Behold and venge this traitor's perjury . . .'

Much has been said of the formlessness of *Tamburlaine* and, in strict justice, it must be granted that the play lacks, even in the first part, that clear shaping of its material which itself constitutes a great part of a dramatist's interpretation. This can be traced to one evident cause which has already been suggested, that Marlowe had not, at the time of writing *Tamburlaine*, an interpretation comprehensive enough to include all the material which his story presented to him. The mind and desires of Tamburlaine he knows perhaps as no man before or since has known them, but the interrelations of this mind with others and of those others among themselves, the consequences and significance of his attitude and of his career were obscure to Marlowe. He hesitates sometimes in confusion as he perceives pressing upon him a world of experience and emotion

that threatens destruction to the single, clear concept upon which the play rests; he permits to Zenocrate a speech fraught with the woe of the vanquished, he draws delicately the weak figure of Mycetes, more robustly the original character of Calyphas, then he is driven to bar his mind resolutely against his perception of the desolation and the nothingness that follows Tamburlaine's triumphal march. The most significant failure to order the material into a harmonious whole is to be seen in his treatment of Bajazet, where he falters and turns aside from the task of including in one poetic concept the desire of Tamburlaine 'Lift upward and divine' and the fate of this king 'So great, so powerful . . . and that night a slave'. It was not here for lack of leading from previous historians that he turned aside, but out of his own incapacity to look steadfastly upon both at once and perceive the deep foundations of a world order upon which both should equally be borne. The glories of the conqueror and of the conquered are not comprehended together by any minds but those whose reach well-nigh exceeds human might; Euripides does not give us at once the apotheosis of Hellas and the destruction of Troy; Aeschylus himself achieves it hardly in the *Persae*.

> '. . . . Pauci, quos æquus amavit.
> 'Juppiter aut ardens evexit ad æsthera virtus,
> 'dis geniti potuere,'

—the poets of the *Oedipus Coloneus* and of *Anthony and Cleopatra*. For such comprehension implies the perfect balance of high tragic thought, such interpretation of the matter of tragedy in life as leaves us poised between pity and understanding, midway between the world of men where cause and accident work in dissonance, to the frequent frustration of beauty and nobility, and that world from which the Olympians look down to perceive the hidden causes of things. 'Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas'; Marlowe was never one of these happy souls. From the moment of his first uneasy perception—in vain

postponed through the writing of the second part of the play—of the world of tragic possibility which lay about the glory of Tamburlaine, from that moment the sense of the inexplicable waste and pain of man's destiny was a burning torment to him, a misery that would not let him rest, and he exhausted himself in his attempts to comprehend in his youth that mighty and complex system of man's destiny which Sophocles and Shakespeare seem only to have surveyed in their full maturity.

This is the secret of the failure of Marlowe's tragedies; it is no failure of purpose or of scope but rather of a mind that overreaches itself in its endeavours to include all and comprehend all, knowing that until this be done, no interpretation is valid:

> 'Icare est chut ici, le jeune audacieux
> 'Qui pour voler au ciel eut assez de courage.'

and in the light of this knowledge the structural failure of Tamburlaine becomes the more interesting. We see Marlowe here for the last time possessing his exultation untouched, resisting the inrush of those thoughts that were ultimately to overwhelm it, rejecting for the moment what he could not comprehend, degrading the figure of Bajazet because he could not afford to let it keep its dignity. The play has been called formless and we have admitted this to mean that it does not interpret life by means of form. Upon a nearer view we are driven to the conclusion that the trouble is rather that it is arbitrarily formed, that instead of perceiving the half-concealed shape lurking in events and revealing the inherent trend of fundamental law, Marlowe approaches his subject with a preconceived law of his own and accepts from the material offered only such parts as confirm it. It is an unscientific method and one which Marlowe, already at heart possessed of much of the moral attitude of a great scientist, was almost immediately to abandon.

Can we, finally, attempt to approach more nearly the mood in which *Tamburlaine* was conceived, that mood which could not be prolonged to complete the later part of the play; can we define at all the process of transmutation by which the records set down above became the play which more nearly expresses Marlowe's untrammelled thought than any other single work of his imagination? Can we, in the light of what has gone before, attempt to distinguish the material of the play, not this time from the form that material finally received, so much as from the spirit that informed it?

The main theme of the first part of *Tamburlaine*, the part that catches the imagination most sharply and leaves the deepest impression, is too full of hard, clear colour, of the clash and jingle of armour and the beating of a tropic sun on burning metal to carry with it the implication of poetry, except in so far as poetry seems inherent in anything surcharged with energy and with exultation. The sources of the impulse whose apotheosis it attempts do not always bear investigation; too much crude destruction is involved in the exaltation of this supreme and uncreative egoist. Beauty, we feel, is too often beaten down in the service of what is, after all, a lesser beauty, 'the sweet fruition of an earthly crown', for the play to stand finally as a type of noble poetry. We may be deafened for a time by Tamburlaine's swift passion, so simply conceived, so clearly spoken, as his armies 'March in triumph through Persepolis' on 'Brave horses bred on the white Tartarian hills' the while he, its soul and its cause, still holds 'the Fates fast bound in iron chains'. But upon often pondering we demand something more.

And something more is there, not germane to the main theme, often childishly at variance with it, but something without which *Tamburlaine* would be only one of many plays that glorified power, wealth and conquest and held the eves and ears of their audiences with thundering lines

and astounding martial swagger and heroic gesture. Without this other element, in which Marlowe saw the essential Tamburlaine (this element of poetic vision which, had it been the main quality of the historical Tīmūr, would have unfitted him for his career of conquest) we should not have in the poet of *Tamburlaine* the poet also of *Faustus*, *Edward II*, and *Hero and Leander*. For Marlowe is gloriously mistaken in Tamburlaine. The story he chose to hold his idea, the character in whom he thought to embody it, belong eventually to another world; only youth and high spirits serve to carry their creator through the presentation of that career of earthly conquest. But if the story and the figure of Tīmūr had, at his first meeting it, suggested this career and nothing beyond this to Marlowe, he would not have used them for his first play. We cannot but believe that Marlowe saw in the spirit of Tamburlaine secret springs of desire that were not there, or did not continue, in the historical figure and that could not co-exist with the career of Tīmūr with which he invested his Tamburlaine. The true image of Marlowe's first conception is hidden perhaps even from the most sympathetic of his readers, for it gradually faded even in the imaginative working out of the character and the career. But the sense of stir and expectation in the great speeches of the earlier play all promise the discovery and disclosure of some profound truth of man's spirit, of some hitherto hidden source of his aspiration; the capturing of an ideal, shadowy vision, part sense and part intellect, part thought and part emotion; the revealing of some strange, inner significance beneath the outer event, an illumination irradiating the world with a sure intimation of immortality. It is then to the attempts to express this that we turn, and rightly so, for the most searching revelation of Marlowe as he was when he wrote *Tamburlaine*, no less than for the revelation of part of what he was to become, the poet of clear, tenuous vision in whose imagery the stars, through inevitable affinity, become natural and familiar;

'Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
'The wondrous architecture of the world
'And measure every wandring planet's course
'Still climbing after knowledge infinite, . . .'

these are the true theme of the play that Marlowe conceived *and only partially carried forward from conception to expression. The story of Tīmūr, caught into the illumination* of Marlowe's early vision, appeared to him for a moment fraught with inexpressible and hitherto unimagined significance. To explore the soul of Tamburlaine became all one, then, with exploring the sources of his own 'desire, lift upward and divine'.

And so it is Tamburlaine who ponders upon beauty 'with whose instinct the soul of man is touched' and sees man's spirit 'Ever moving as the restless spheres' and, though seeing neither cause nor end, is yet for a while content, like a lover with the object of his love.

'Tu prends un arbre obscur et tu l'apothéoses!
'O Soleil! toi sans qui les choses
'Ne seraient que ce qu' elles sont!'

Strange things fall under this illumination and go forth the apotheosis of their former selves; myth and legend culled from an arid academic classicism take back some of the grace of the golden age; Ovid, Virgil, Lucan, Cicero, Horace, Seneca—the whole rānge is wider still than this—all promise something beyond imagination; the maps of the Italian and Dutch cartographers focus the light on strange places of the world where the lost secrets of man's destiny may be hidden, vast Grœntland by the Frozen Sea, Samarqand in far Tartary, washed by the golden waves of Jaxartes, strange, untempted recesses of Africa; above and beyond the world, the whirling universe of spheres, their movements imperfectly discernible through the complicated and subtle late Ptolemaic system, lead the mind yet further and further into unimagined countries and stir it to thoughts beyond its grasp. The same splendour falls upon them as upon

the deeds of Tamburlaine and we, perceiving the splendour, are not always careful to perceive also the source from which it comes. It does not come from the story that Marlowe took to form the substance of his play; it is not inherent in that world wherein 'a god is not so glorious as a king'. Rather is the world of conquest deceptively illuminated from that other world 'Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars'.

If this, then, be the distinctive quality of the first part of *Tamburlaine*, that almost unbearable emotional illumination, that rare glow derived from the momentary overlapping of the freshness of youth and the richness of maturity, it is easy to see how little Marlowe owes to the theme of his play, how much the theme owes to the moment. It is easy to see the contrast between the tone and spirit of the two parts, for the second part of the play gives us the story of Tamburlaine without the illumination shed upon the first part. The same, or nearly the same persons, the same or nearly the same events and episodes are there; it is, in fact, substantially the same landscape, from which the splendour of that strange light is fading even while the poet works, lingering only upon the high pinnacles of thought or of emotion. The informing spirit has departed from this second play, and the story of Tamburlaine becomes again a story of conquest, rapine, bloodshed and violence such as the historians had set it forth; a good stage version of Perondinus, Mexia, Bonfinius 'and the rest'.

V

THE STAGE HISTORY OF *TAMBURLAINE*

THE date of the first production of *Tamburlaine* is, of course, unknown; the references in Henslowe's *Diary* only cover the later period of its Elizabethan career. From these we learn, as Sir Edmund Chambers points out (*The Elizabethan Stage* iii. 421–2), that the Admiral's company produced

'Tamberlan' on August 28, (30), 1594, though probably only the first part; that fourteen more performances of the first part followed before November 12, 1595, and that there were seven performances of the second part between December 19, 1594 and November 13, 1595.[1] A little light is thrown upon the staging of these productions by the inventories of the Admiral's men in 1598 which include among their properties 'Tamberlyre brydell . . .' and among their apparel 'Tamberlynes cotte, with coper lace . . . Tamberlanes breches of crymson vellvet . . .' to which we may probably add the 'j cage' mentioned in the first group of properties.[2] As Professor Brooke remarks (see Vol. I of this series) Part I bears the marks of having been written for performance in inns rather than in regular theatres, but Part II, with its relatively more detailed stage devices, seems to belong to the regular stage,

There appears to be no record of a later performance, though the constant reference to the play during the early years of the seventeenth century suggests that it must have been performed as well as read. After the Commonwealth even these allusions cease (see C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe*, 1922), and the place of *Tamburlaine* is taken on the stage by the apparently independent efforts of Saunders and of Rowe. With the revival of interest in Marlowe at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the *Jew of Malta* was staged, but there was no attempt to produce *Tamburlaine*. Nor, so far as I have been able to discover, was any such attempt made during the later years of that century or the early part of the twentieth, until the production of the play in an abbreviated version by the Yale University Dramatic Association in 1919 led to a series of similar revivals and readings.

[1] That is, of Part I: Sept. 12, Sept. 28, Oct. 15, Oct. 17, Nov. 4, Nov. 27, Dec. 17, Dec. 30, Jan. 27, Feb. 17, Mar. 11; 1595, May 21, Sept. 15, Nov. 12, and of Part II: Dec 19, Jan. 1, Jan 29, Feb 18, Mar. 12; 1595, May 22, Nov. 13. (See *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, 1904.)

[2] See *Henslowe Papers*, ed. W. W. Greg, 1907.

TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT

PART I

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

MYCETES, *King of Persia.*
COSROE, *his brother.*
MEANDER,
THERIDAMAS,
ORTYGIUS,
CENEUS,
MENAPHON, } *Persian lords.*
TAMBURLAINE, *a Scythian shepherd.*
TECHELLES,
USUMCASANE, } *his followers.*
BAJAZETH, *Emperor of the Turks.*
KING OF FEZ.
KING OF MOROCCO.
KING OF ARGIER.
KING OF ARABIA.
SOLDAN OF EGYPT.
GOVERNOR OF DAMASCUS.
AGYDAS,
MAGNETES, } *Median lords.*
CAPOLIN, *an Egyptian.*
PHILEMUS, BASSOES, LORDS, CITIZENS, MOORS, SOLDIERS, *and* ATTENDANTS.
ZENOCRATE, *daughter to the Soldan of Egypt.*
ANIPPE, *her maid.*
ZABINA, *wife to* BAJAZETH.
EBEA, *her maid.*
VIRGINS OF DAMASCUS.

Dramatis Personæ.

This list is added by Dyce. It does not appear in the octavos.

MYCETES. History does not record this king of Persia. In the index to Petrus Bizarus's *Persicarum Rerum Historia* the name Mesithes occurs in a different connection. I have found no other trace of the name.

COSROE. This name is again unknown among Persians contemporary with Tamburlaine, though Chosroe or Cosroe is well known as a later Persian king.

TAMBURLAINE. For the biographies of Tamburlaine, see the *Introduction*. The most familiar forms of the name are Tamerlanes, Tamerlan, Tamberlan, etc.

TECHELLES. This name is also mentioned by Bizarus and others, though not in connection with Tamburlaine; it is that of a later warrior and is apparently used by Marlowe without reference to its historical context.

USUMCASANE. This is the name of a later Persian king, which occurs not only in Bizarus (Usumcassanus) but in the later part of Mexia's (and consequently Fortescue's) biography, where he is said to be the founder of the Sophis.

BAJAZETH. For the biographies of Bajazet, see the *Introduction*. Marlowe has here adopted the most common European form of the name. Others are Baiazith, Baiazed, Paiazetes (the Byzantine form).

KING OF FEZ, etc. The African conquests of Tamburlaine and of Bajazeth are seldom mentioned by the European historians, who, in any event, do not bring him west of Cairo. The names of the African potentates may easily have been the result of Marlowe's study of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (see *Introduction*).

KING OF ARABIA, SOLDAN OF EGYPT. Both these are mentioned by most of Tamburlaine's biographers, but in the European histories they are generally nameless, as in Marlowe's play.

ZENOCRATE. The name of Tamburlaine's wife does not appear in any of the European accounts of which only one (that of Chalcondylas) mentions her existence.

ZABINA. Bajazet's wife was the daughter of Eleazar, the Despot of Servia, referred to by Chalcondylas as the Prince of the Bulgars. Her title 'Despina' may have been modified into 'Zabina'. Miss Seaton (R.E.S.) suggests that 'Zabina' may possibly be an attempt to reproduce the Turkish form of the Greek 'Despina'.

To the Gentlemen Readers and Others that Take Pleasure in Reading Histories:

Gentlemen and courteous readers whosoever, I have here published in print for your sakes the two tragical discourses of the Scythian shepherd Tamburlaine, that became so great a conqueror and so mighty a monarch. My hope is that they will be now no less acceptable unto you to read after your serious affairs and studies than they have been (lately) delightful for many of you to see when the same were showed in London upon stages. I have (purposely) omitted and left out some fond and frivolous gestures, digressing (and in my poor opinion) far unmeet for the matter, which I thought might seem more tedious unto the wise than any way else to be regarded, though (haply) they have been of some vain, conceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were showed upon the stage in their graced deformities. Nevertheless now to be mixtured in print with such matter of worth, it would prove a great disgrace to so honourable and stately a history. Great folly were it in me to commend unto your wisdoms either the eloquence of the author that writ them or the worthiness of the matter itself; I therefore leave unto your learned censures both the one and the other and myself the poor printer of them unto your most courteous and favourable protection, which if you vouchsafe to accept, you shall evermore bind me to employ what travail and service I can to the advancing and pleasuring of your excellent degree.

Yours, most humble at commandment,
R. J., Printer.

2. *the two*] *this* O_4. 3. *discourses*] *discourse* O_4. 5. *they*] *it* O_4. 6, 7. *they have*] *it hath* O_4. 8. *were*] *was* O_4. 14. *times*] *time* O_2 16. *mixtured*] *mingled* O_3, O_4. 20. *them*] *it* O_4. 21. *leave*] *leave it* O_4. *both . . . other*] *om.* O_4. 22. *of them*] *thereof* O_4. 23. *protection*] *protections* O_3, O_4. 24. *accept*] *doe* O_3, O_4. 27. *humble*] om. O_4.

To the Gentleman Readers etc.

8–18. *I have omitted*] What these ' fond and frivolous gestures ' were is now unknown, for no fuller reference or description of them has survived. Jones's remark may mean that some actors' gag had crept into the acting version of the play between 1587 and 1590, or, less probably, that Marlowe had himself attempted to introduce comic matter other than that which still disfigures the play, that his printer judged unworthy of him. If we accept the former interpretation it opens the possibility of some of the surviving comic scenes and prose passages (see notes *ad. hoc*) being, equally with those that Jones rejected, the results of play-house additions.

28. Richard Jones was a printer and bookseller who was at work from about 1564 to 1602; he was admitted to the Stationers' Company on Aug. 7, 1564. He dealt largely in ballads and popular literature and seems on the whole to have been a reputable man The title-pages of O_1 O_2 O_3 bear his name, but that of O_4, although his prefatory letter is retained, shows that a transfer had been made to Edward White, the bookseller, for whom Edward Allde printed it. In Arber's reprint of the Stationers' Register (III. 702) it is stated that Richard Jones, then in partnership with William Hill, sold the business to William White in 1598. (Occasional entries in Jones's name occur after this date, but none after 1602) I cannot find a record of any transfer from William White (printer, working from 1597–1615) to Edward White, Senior or Junior. (For Richard Jones, see Arber, *Stationers' Register*; R. B. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers* (1910))

THE PROLOGUE

FROM jigging veins of riming mother wits,
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
Threatening the world with high astounding terms
And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword.
View but his picture in this tragic glass,
And then applaud his fortunes as you please.

Heading.—The two . . . Shepheard, etc.] *The first part of the two . . . Shepheard etc,* O_2. *The Tragicall Conquests of Tamburlaine, the Scythian Shepherd, etc,* O_3 O_4.

The Prologue.

1–3. *From . . . war*] These lines contain Marlowe's manifesto to the stage tradition of his time. They do not actually prove, in the absence of other evidence, that the play is the first of its kind to use blank verse for the popular drama and determine nothing as to the relative dates of this play and of the *Spanish Tragedy*. They merely declare with what kind of popular drama Marlowe does not wish to be identified. Broughton refers his readers to the play of *Cambises* and to Hall's *Virgidemiarum* for corroboration of Marlowe's description.

ACT I

SCENE I

MYCETES, COSROE, MEANDER, THERIDAMAS, ORTYGIUS, CENEUS, MENAPHON, *with others.*

Myc. Brother Cosroe, I find myself agriev'd;
Yet insufficient to express the same,
For it requires a great and thundering speech:
Good brother, tell the cause unto my lords;
I know you have a better wit than I.

Cos. Unhappy Persia, that in former age
Hast been the seat of mighty conquerors,
That, in their prowess and their policies,
Have triumphed over Afric, and the bounds
Of Europe where the sun dares scarce appear
For freezing meteors and congealed cold,
Now to be ruled and governed by a man
At whose birthday Cynthia with Saturn joined,
And Jove, the Sun, and Mercury denied

Act I. Scene i.

S.D. *Menaphon*] *Add. Dyce, om.* O_{1-4}. 9. *Afric*] *Affrica* O_3 O_4.

Act I. Scene i.

Mycetes . . . with others] None of the characters who enter here have historical prototypes, though for an abstract of the events set in train in this scene Marlowe might have been indebted to Fregoso, Mexia, Perondinus or Primaudaye. See *Introduction*, Section IV.

6. *Cosroe*] The possible origin of this name has already been noticed. Broughton remarks that it is also used by Fletcher for the Persian King in his *Prophetess*. The work of Petrus Bizarus was the standard history of Persia, to which both poets may have turned.

9–11. *the bounds of Europe . . . cold*] Darius, King of Persia 521–485 B.C., invaded what was then Scythia (the district between the Carpathians and the Danube) and Russia, where the frozen steppes worked havoc on his army. His empire extended into Africa so far as to include Egypt and Cyrenaïca.

13–15. *Cynthia . . . brain*] Marlowe's knowledge of astronomy was considerable and his knowledge of astrology, not severely separated

To shed their influence in his fickle brain!
Now Turks and Tartars shake their swords at thee,
Meaning to mangle all thy provinces.

Myc. Brother, I see your meaning well enough,
And through your planets I perceive you think
I am not wise enough to be a king:
But I refer me to my noblemen,
That know my wit, and can be witnesses.
I might command you to be slain for this.
Meander, might I not?

Mean. Not for so small a fault, my sovereign lord.

Myc. I mean it not, but yet I know I might.
Yet live; yea, live; Mycetes wills it so.
Meander, thou, my faithful counsellor,
Declare the cause of my conceived grief,
Which is (God knows) about that Tamburlaine,
That, like a fox in midst of harvest-time,
Doth prey upon my flocks of passengers,
And, as I hear, doth mean to pull my plumes
Therefore 'tis good and meet for to be wise.

Mean. Oft have I heard your majesty complain
Of Tamburlaine, that sturdy Scythian thief,
That robs your merchants of Persepolis
Trading by land unto the Western Isles,

15. *their*] *Dyce etc*, his O_{1-4} 19 *through*] *thorough* O_1 O_2. 38 *Trading*] *Treading* O_1 O_3 O_4.

in the sixteenth century from the orthodox science, little less. The moon's share in the make-up of Mycetes was giddy variableness, and Saturn's dull heaviness of mind, while the beneficence, geniality and richness of Sol and the keen-mindedness of Mercury were denied. These are all, of course, the references of a sixteenth-century Elizabethan rather than of a fourteenth-century Persian. And Parr points out that Cosroe, evidently an adept in astrology, has defined precisely the particular configuration which would have produced the characteristics displayed by Mycetes. An Elizabethan audience would have appreciated this piece of sardonic, astrological characterization.

32. *flocks of passengers*] the travellers by the trade routes through Persia. Several of the European biographers of Tamburlaine insist that he began his career as a robber attacking bands of pilgrims and traders.

37–8. *merchants . . . Isles*] Is this a reference to the British traders or their Persian allies who crossed Persia from the Caspian Sea to the Portuguese ports of Ormuz and Goa, the ports of entry for the India and China merchant fleets? *Persepolis*] The ancient capital of

And in your confines with his lawless train
Daily commits incivil outrages,
Hoping (misled by dreaming prophecies)
To reign in Asia, and with barbarous arms
To make himself the monarch of the East:
But, ere he march in Asia, or display
His vagrant ensign in the Persian fields,
Your grace hath taken order by Theridamas,
Charged with a thousand horse, to apprehend
And bring him captive to your highness' throne.

Myc. Full true thou speakst, and like thyself, my lord,
Whom I may term a Damon for thy love:
Therefore 'tis best, if so it like you all,
To send my thousand horse incontinent
To apprehend that paltry Scythian.
How like you this, my honourable lords?
Is it not a kingly resolution?

Cos. It cannot choose, because it comes from you.

Myc. Then hear thy charge, valiant Theridamas,
The chiefest captain of Mycetes' host,
The hope of Persia, and the very legs
Whereon our state doth lean as on a staff,
That holds us up and foils our neighbour foes.
Thou shalt be leader of this thousand horse,
Whose foaming gall with rage and high disdain

40. *incivil*] *uncivill* O_3 O_4. 54. *How like*] *How you like* O_3. 58. *chiefest*] *chief* O_4.

Persia. The classical cartographers placed it on the Araxis; the ruins still survive some 40 miles north-east of Shiraz.

42–3. *Asia . . . East*] With Marlowe and his contemporaries Asia frequently means the modern Asia Minor. According to modern terminology, Tamburlaine is already in Asia—indeed, hardly leaves it during the play:

46. On the occasional Alexandrine lines which occur in *Tamburlaine*, see C. F. Tucker Brooke, *Marlowe's Versification and Style* (*Stud. Phil.* XIX. 1922), p. 191.

50. *Damon*] The beloved friend of Pythias (more correctly Phintias), was a Pythagorean living in the time of Dionysius I of Syracuse and the history of the friendship was a favourite with the Elizabethans who may have been familiar with it from the account in Cicero, *De off.*, III. 10. 45.

Have sworn the death of wicked Tamburlaine.
Go frowning forth, but come thou smiling home,
As did Sir Paris with the Grecian dame.
Return with speed, time passeth swift away,
Our life is frail, and we may die to-day.

Ther. Before the moon renew her borrowed light,
Doubt not, my lord and gracious sovereign,
But Tamburlaine and that Tartarian rout
Shall either perish by our warlike hands,
Or plead for mercy at your highness' feet.

Myc. Go, stout Theridamas, thy words are swords,
And with thy looks thou conquerest all thy foes
I long to see thee back return from thence,
That I may view these milk-white steeds of mine
All loaden with the heads of killed men,
And from their knees even to their hoofs below
Besmeared with blood that makes a dainty show.

Ther. Then now, my lord, I humbly take my leave. [*Exit.*

Myc. Theridamas, farewell ten thousand times.
Ah, Menaphon, why stayest thou thus behind,
When other men press forward for renown?
Go, Menaphon, go into Scythia,
And foot by foot follow Theridamas.

82. *Theridamas*] *Therid.* O_{1-3}.

66. *Sir*] a characteristic medieval and Elizabethan title, 'applied retrospectively', as the N.E.D. says, 'to notable personages of ancient, especially sacred or classical, history'; cf. Sir Hercules, Sir Pilate, Sir Aeneas.

67–8. *Return . . . to-day*] It is by lines such as these that Marlowe occasionally surprises us. We perceive in him a wider range of sympathy and imagination than is permitted free utterance by the severity with which he subordinates the minor tones of the play to its main theme.

71. *Tartarian*] The terms Tartar and Scythian seem to be used interchangeably by Marlowe. The Scythians were actually at this time a branch of the Tartar race. Scythia for Ortelius is the district along the north shores of the Euxine (Black) Sea, just west of the Chersonese (Crimea), but was also frequently used, as in classical cartography, of the whole of Central and North-Eastern Asia. Tartary in Ortelius's maps covers a wide area of northern and central Asia, but the medieval Tartar or Mongul empire had extended west as far as to include a large part of Russia in Europe.

77–80. *That . . . show*] The character of Mycetes is carefully

Cos. Nay, pray you, let him stay; a greater [task]
Fits Menaphon than warring with a thief:
Create him pro-rex of all Africa,
That he may win the Babylonians' hearts,
Which will revolt from Persian government,
Unless they have a wiser king than you.
Myc. Unless they have a wiser king than you?
These are his words, Meander, set them down.
Cos. And add this to them, that all Asia
Lament to see the folly of their king.
Myc. Well, here I swear by this my royal seat—
Cos. You may do well to kiss it, then.
Myc.—Embossed with silk as best beseems my state,
To be reveng'd for these contemptuous words!
O where is duty and allegiance now?
Fled to the Caspian or the Ocean main?
What, shall I call thee brother? no, a foe,
Monster of nature, shame unto thy stock,
That darst presume thy sovereign for to mock!
Meander, come, I am abus'd, Meander. *Exit.*

Manent COSROE *and* MENAPHON.

Men. How now, my lord, what, mated and amaz'd
To hear the king thus threaten like himself?

87. *you*] *om.* O_3 O_4. *task*] *om.* O_{1-4}. *Add. Rob. etc.* 89. *of all*] *of* O_{1-3}.

studied. He combines the morbid delight of the non-fighting man in the evidences of battle with a delicate and fanciful but perverse love of fantastic effects.

87. (*task*)] The early editions have all dropped the final word here. Robinson and subsequent editors supply the word 'task'. Tucker Brooke notes a MS. conjecture 'feat'. Both metre and sense obviously demand some such monosyllable.

89. *pro-rex*] here equivalent to Viceroy. Instances have been remarked of similar usage in Nashe and up to the late seventeenth century.

90. *Babylonians'*] Babylonia had been brought under the Persian rule by Cyrus in 538 B.C. (See Petrus Bizarus, *Hist. Rer. Pers. Lib. Prim.*, p. 16.)

107. *mated and amaz'd*] The phrase occurs in *Macbeth*, v. i. 86, 'My mind she hath mated and amazed my sight.' The word mated is derived ultimately from the Persian 'mat', 'helpless', which comes into English through Latin and Old French, being represented to-day in the phrase 'checkmate' (Pers. shāh māt).

Cos. Ah Menaphon, I pass not for his threats.
The plot is laid by Persian noblemen
And captains of the Median garrisons
To crown me emperor of Asia.
But this it is that doth excruciate
The very substance of my vexed soul!
To see our neighbours that were wont to quake
And tremble at the Persian monarch's name,
Now sits and laughs our regiment to scorn;
And that which might resolve me into tears,
Men from the farthest equinoctial line
Have swarm'd in troops into the Eastern India,
Lading their ships with gold and precious stones,
And made their spoils from all our provinces.
Men. This should entreat your highness to rejoice,
Since Fortune gives you opportunity
To gain the title of a conqueror
By curing of this maimed Empery.
Afric and Europe bordering on your land,
And continent to your dominions,
How easily may you, with a mighty host,
Pass into Græcia, as did Cyrus once,

118. *resolve*] *dissolve* O_3 O_4. 121. *ships*] *shippe* O_3. 130. *Pass*] *Hast(e)* O_3 O_4.

109. *pass not for*] care not for.

117. *regiment*] government, rule. Wagner compares *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vi. 95, 'And gives his potent regiment to a trull.'

118. *resolve*] dissolve, melt. Cf. *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 442 *seq.* 'Whose liquid surge resolves The moon into salt tears;' cf. also *A Lover's Complaint*, l. 295–6. Marlowe uses the word thus repeatedly in this play; cf. I. ii. 101; v. ii. 79, 209, 398.

119. *equinoctial line*] either the celestial or the terrestrial equator. The reference here is to the inhabitants of the southern districts lying about the equator who have advanced north into Eastern India, long the wealthiest province of any Oriental nation that held supremacy over it.

127–9. *Afric . . . you*] A construction represented in Latin by the ablative absolute and in modern English by a form such as 'Since are continent'.

128. *continent to*] touching, bordering, bounding. Cf. *Faustus*, 343–4. 'Ile joyne the hils that binde the Affricke shore | And make that country continent to Spaine.'

130. *Cyrus*] the founder of the Persian Empire subdued the Greek cities of Asia Minor, but it is Darius who is associated with the invasion of Greece and the defeat at Marathon in 490 B.C. The con-

And cause them to withdraw their forces home,
Lest you subdue the pride of Christendom!

Cos. But Menaphon, what means this trumpet's sound?

Men. Behold, my lord, Ortygius and the rest
Bringing the crown to make you emperor!

Enter ORTYGIUS *and* CENEUS, *bearing a crown, with others.*

Orty. Magnificent and mighty prince Cosroe,
We, in the name of other Persian states
And commons of this mighty monarchy,
Present thee with th' imperial diadem.

Cene. The warlike soldiers and the gentlemen,
That heretofore have filled Persepolis
With Afric captains taken in the field,
Whose ransom made them march in coats of gold,
With costly jewels hanging at their ears,
And shining stones upon their lofty crests,
Now living idle in the walled towns,
Wanting both pay and martial discipline,
Begin in troops to threaten civil war,
And openly exclaim against the king.
Therefore, to stay all sudden mutinies,
We will invest your highness emperor;
Whereat the soldiers will conceive more joy
Than did the Macedonians at the spoil
Of great Darius and his wealthy host.

Cos. Well, since I see the state of Persia droop
And languish in my brother's government,
I willingly receive th' imperial crown,
And vow to wear it for my country's good,

132. *you*] *they* O_4. 133. *Menaphon*] *Menaph.* O_{1-4}. 135. S.D. *Ceneus*] *Dyce etc. Conerus* O_{1-4}. 140. Prefix *Cene*] *Cone* O_3 O_4.

fusion here may be due to Marlowe's incomplete memory of an account such as Bizarus (Lib. i. p. 15).

137. *states*] persons of high estate The same use occurs in *King John*, II. i. 395, 'How like you this wild counsel, mighty states?'

153–4. *Macedonians . . . Darius*] The reference is to the victory of Alexander over Darius king of

In spite of them shall malice my estate.
Orly. And, in assurance of desir'd success,
We here do crown thee monarch of the East,
Emperor of Asia and of Persia,
Great lord of Media and Armenia,
Duke of Africa and Albania,
Mesopotamia and of Parthia,
East India and the late discovered isles,
Chief lord of all the wide vast Euxine Sea,
And of the ever raging Caspian Lake.
Long live Cosroe, mighty emperor!
Cos. And Jove may never let me longer live
Than I may seek to gratify your love,
And cause the soldiers that thus honour me
To triumph over many provinces!
By whose desires of discipline in arms
I doubt not shortly but to reign sole king,
And with the army of Theridamas,
Whither we presently will fly, my lords,
To rest secure against my brother's force.

162. *Emperor*] *Empeour* O_4 *and of*] *and* O_2. 168. *ever*] *river* O_4 169. *Long*] Prefix *All, add* O_3 O_4.

Persia at the battle of Issus in 333 B.C.

159. *malice*] Broughton and Wagner cite instances of this verb from Spenser, Daniel, Surrey, Ben Jonson, Wither and Marston. Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, VI. 9. 39–40:

'Who, on the other side, did seeme so farre
'From malicing, or grudging his good home . .'

162 *seq. Emperor . . . Caspian Lake*] For the boundaries which Marlowe would assign to these territories reference should be made to Ortelius: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*; *Persici sive sophorum Regni Typus*. The colouring there indicates the boundaries of Persia as extending from the western extremity of the Caspian Sea, due south to the Persian Gulf and eastward to include a large portion of the modern Afghanistan. Media (which appears more clearly in the map *Europa*) is the district between the northern reaches of the Tigris and the Caspian Sea. The extreme northern part of this district is (in the map *Asia*) called Armenia. The Parthia of the ancients was the district south-east of the Caspian, while Albania lay between the Black Sea and the Caspian.

170. *Jove may never*] The construction here is paralleled by Dyce from the prologue to Fletcher's *Woman's Prize*: 'Which this may prove.' Modern English would write 'May Jove never etc.'.

Orty. We knew, my lord, before we brought the crown,
Intending your investion so near
The residence of your despised brother,
The lords would not be too exasperate
To injure or suppress your worthy title.
Or if they would, there are in readiness
Ten thousand horse to carry you from hence,
In spite of all suspected enemies.
Cos. I know it well, my lord, and thank you all.
Orty. Sound up the trumpets, then. God save the king!
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

TAMBURLAINE *leading* ZENOCRATE: TECHELLES, USUMCASANE, *other* Lords *and* Soldiers *loaden with treasure.*

Tamb. Come lady, let not this appal your thoughts;
The jewels and the treasure we have ta'en
Shall be reserv'd, and you in better state
Than if you were arriv'd in Syria,
Even in the circle of your father's arms,
The mighty Soldan of Egyptia.

183. *injure*] *injurie* O_{2-4}. 187. Prefix *Cosr*] *Gosr* O_3. 188. *God*] Prefix *All*, add O_3 O_4.

Scene ii.

S.D. *other*] *and other* O_4.

180. *investion*] The modern form is investiture or investment. For the form used by Marlowe the N.E.D. offers only one parallel: Lithgow, *Trav.*, VIII. 359: 'The Turkes investion of it [Tremizen].'

182. *exasperate*] the older form of the past participle (cf. Lat. exasperatus) where Mod. E. has the weak form in 'ed'.

183. *injure*] O_{2-4} read 'injurie', also a common Elizabethan form of the verb. The reading of O_1 is retained here.

Scene ii.

4. *Syria*] appears as 'Soria' in the second part of the play, and is shown by Ortelius (*Turcicum Imperium*) to be the coastal district north of Judea. In the map *Terra Sancta* the Mediterranean at this point is called Mare Syriacum.

6. *Soldan of Egyptia*] It is a piece of dramatic economy on Marlowe's part to make the wife of Tamburlaine the daughter of the Soldan of Egypt. The chief wife of Timûr seems to have been

Zeno. Ah shepherd, pity my distressed plight!
(If, as thou seem'st, thou art so mean a man)
And seek not to enrich thy followers
By lawless rapine from a silly maid,
Who, travelling with these Median lords
To Memphis, from my uncle's country of Media,
Where all my youth I have been governed,
Have passed the army of the mighty Turk,
Bearing his privy signet and his hand
To safe conduct us thorough Africa.
Mag. And since we have arrived in Scythia,
Besides rich presents from the puissant Cham,
We have his highness' letters to command
Aid and assistance, if we stand in need.
Tamb. But now you see these letters and commands
Are countermanded by a greater man,
And through my provinces you must expect
Letters of conduct from my mightiness,
If you intend to keep your treasure safe,
But since I love to live at liberty,
As easily may you get the Soldan's crown,

12. *Media*] *Medea* O_1 O_2. *Meda* O_3 O_4. 16. *thorough*] *thorow* O_1 O_2 *throw* O_3 *through* O_4.

a Tartar princess, according to many authorities, the daughter of the Great Khan.

10. *silly*] helpless and harmless. A very common meaning from *c.* 1550 to *c.* 1675; it had not yet been confined to its modern meaning, although that use of the word also occurred.

12. *To . . . Media*] The irregular metre here suggests that possibly some corruption has occurred. Cunningham suggested emending 'my uncles' to 'his' and Brennan conjectured that the words 'of Media' should be dropped. The route suggested by Zenocrate's words seems reasonable enough as the events of this scene are assumed to take place in some undefined part of Scythia or the territory of the extreme western Tartars.

17–18. *Scythia*] here apparently the territory touching the northern parts of Media. Zenocrate's journey makes a slight deviation to the north as the direct line south-west to Memphis would carry her through the dreaded and impassable Arabian desert. Marlowe, in presenting Tamburlaine as a mere shepherd-robber so soon before his meeting with Bajazeth, follows, of course, the implications of the western historians and handles even them fairly freely. The historical Tīmūr at the time of his western invasions was himself the supreme khan of all the Tartars in Western Asia.

As any prizes out of my precinct.
For they are friends that help to wean my state,
Till men and kingdoms help to strengthen it,
And must maintain my life exempt from servitude.
But tell me madam, is your grace betroth'd?

Zeno. I am, my lord,—for so you do import.

Tamb. I am a lord, for so my deeds shall prove,
And yet a shepherd by my parentage.
But lady, this fair face and heavenly hue
Must grace his bed that conquers Asia,
And means to be a terror to the world,
Measuring the limits of his empery
By east and west, as Phœbus doth his course.
Lie here, ye weeds that I disdain to wear!
This complete armour and this curtle-axe
Are adjuncts more beseeming Tamburlaine.
And madam, whatsoever you esteem
Of this success, and loss unvalued,
Both may invest you empress of the East.
And these, that seem but silly country swains,
May have the leading of so great an host
As with their weight shall make the mountains quake,
Even as when windy exhalations,
Fighting for passage, tilt within the earth.

28. *precinct*] province or governmental area. Cf. Holinshed, *Chron.* I. 57. i: 'Lord lieutenant of some precinct and iurisdiction perteining to the Romane empire.'

29. *wean*] develop, help to grow. A somewhat unusual use of the word. Emphasis is generally laid upon the things from which anything is weaned; here it is upon those on which the next stage of its development depends. (But cf. Lodge (*Def. Plays*), 'weane thyself to wisdome'). The riches that Tamburlaine has captured are friends that help to develop and strengthen his state until such time as the acquisition of men and of kingdoms contributes to its prosperity.

40. *By . . . course*] that is, by no lesser limits than the whole extent of the world.

42. *cómplete*] frequently accented, as here, upon the first syllable.

45. *success*] event, result. *unvalued*] here, as frequently, 'invaluable'. Compare *Richard III*, I. iv. 28: 'Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels.'

47. *silly*] The use here is slightly different from that of l. 10; 'simple', 'lowly' rather than 'helpless'.

Tech. As princely lions when they rouse themselves,
Stretching their paws, and threatening herds of beasts,
So in his armour looketh Tamburlaine.
Methinks I see kings kneeling at his feet,
And he with frowning brows and fiery looks
Spurning their crowns from off their captive heads.
Usum. And making thee and me, Techelles, kings,
That even to death will follow Tamburlaine.
Tamb. Nobly resolv'd, sweet friends and followers! 60
These lords perhaps do scorn our estimates,
And think we prattle with distempered spirits.
But since they measure our deserts so mean,
That in conceit bear empires on our spears,
Affecting thoughts coequal with the clouds,
They shall be kept our forced followers
Till with their eyes they view us emperors.
Zeno. The gods, defenders of the innocent,
Will never prosper your intended drifts,
That thus oppress poor friendless passengers. 70
Therefore at least admit us liberty,
Even as thou hop'st to be eternised
By living Asia's mighty emperor.
Agyd. I hope our lady's treasure and our own
May serve for ransom to our liberties:
Return our mules and empty camels back,
That we may travel into Syria,
Where her betrothed lord, Alcidamus,
Expects th' arrival of her highness' person.
Mag. And wheresoever we repose ourselves, 80
We will report but well of Tamburlaine.
Tamb. Disdains Zenocrate to live with me?

57. *off*] *of* O_3. 67. *they*] *thee* O_1.

64. *conceit*] imagination, but imagination seeking to express itself in action.

75. *ransom to our liberties*] by metonymy, for 'ransom restoring us to liberty'. Cf. for a similar use of 'to', *Coriolanus*, v. i.: 'This fellow had a Volscian to his mother.'

Or you, my lords, to be my followers?
Think you I weigh this treasure more than you?
Not all the gold in India's wealthy arms
Shall buy the meanest soldier in my train.
Zenocrate, lovelier than the love of Jove,
Brighter than is the silver Rhodope,
Fairer than whitest snow on Scythian hills,
Thy person is more worth to Tamburlaine
Than the possession of the Persian crown,
Which gracious stars have promis'd at my birth.
A hundred Tartars shall attend on thee,
Mounted on steeds swifter than Pegasus.
Thy garments shall be made of Median silk,
Enchas'd with precious jewels of mine own,
More rich and valurous than Zenocrate's.
With milk-white harts upon an ivory sled,

87. *love of Jove*] *love of love* O_2. 88. *Rhodope*] *Dyce etc. Rhodolfe.* O_{1-4}. 93. *hundred*] *hundreth* O_1 O_3 O_4.

88. *Rhodope*] The snow-capped mountains of Thrace. See Nicholas Nicholay, *The Navigations . . made into Turkey*, chap. 1: 'the height and sharpness of the mount *Rhodope*, vulgarly called the mounts of *silver*, because of the silver mines that are there found.' This is the emendation of Dyce and subsequent editors for the 'Rhodolfe' of the early texts.

92. *stars*] One or two of Tamburlaine's European biographers, notably Perondinus, dwell upon the comets and starry portents that accompanied Tamburlaine's birth and death (cf. especially, Perondinus, Cap. xxii).

94. *Pegasus*] the mythical winged horse of antiquity, sprung from the blood of Medusa, conquered and ridden for a time by Bellerophon, is a commonplace with a generation as familiar with Ovid as was Marlowe's.

95. *Median silk*] was certainly known in Venice at this time and from Venice probably found its way into North-West Europe.

96. *Enchas'd*] Marlowe's use of the word seems to be without parallel, but it is not cited by the N.E.D. The phrase 'enchased with' was common in the sense of 'adorned with', but was confined to the adorning of metal with jewels, and I know of no other instance in which it is used, as here, of the embroidering of silk or other fabrics It would appear to be essentially a metal-worker's term. Cf. the regular use of I IV ii. 9.

97. *valurous*] a rare and obsolete word of which the N.E.D. cites only this instance. The use of 'valurous' in the sense of 'valuable' is akin to that of 'valourous' in the sense of 'worthy': 'Be their value ne'er so valorous Its held but base . . .' (J. Davies, *Humours Heaven*, II. lxxxvi)

98. *sled*] A parallel form to 'sledge' (perhaps deriving from M.L.G 'sledde' instead of M.Du. 'sleedse').

Thou shalt be drawn amidst the frozen pools,
And scale the icy mountains' lofty tops,
Which with thy beauty will be soon resolv'd.
My martial prizes, with five hundred men,
Won on the fifty-headed Volga's waves,
Shall all we offer to Zenocrate,
And then myself to fair Zenocrate.

Tech. What now? in love?

Tamb. Techelles, women must be flattered.
But this is she with whom I am in love.

Enter a Soldier.

Sold. News, news!

Tamb. How now, what's the matter?

Sold. A thousand Persian horsemen are at hand,
Sent from the king to overcome us all.

Tamb. How now, my lords of Egypt and Zenocrate?
Now must your jewels be restor'd again,
And I that triumphed so be overcome.
How say you, lordlings? Is not this your hope?

101. *resolv'd*] *desolv'd* O_4. 103. *Volga*] *Vuolga* O_{1-3}. *Voulga* O_4. 104. *Shall all we*] *Shall we* O_2. *We all shall* O_4. 115. *triumphed*] *tryumph* O_4.

103. *Volga*] The three early texts read Vuolga and O_4 Voulga. Ortelius in his *Asia* and *Russia*, however, spells it Volga. In both these maps the delta is clearly shown, though strictly the epithet 'fifty-headed' should belong to the numerous sources and tributaries rather than to the mouths 'Caput' is, however, sometimes used by Latin writers to describe the mouth of a river, though more frequently to describe the head-waters, and Marlowe may have this usage in mind.

106–8. *Techelles . . . love*] Tamburlaine's reply is perhaps a little inept, but the manner of Techelles' question has abruptly dropped the tone of the dialogue. In order to perceive the rapid development of Marlowe's perceptions and expression between his first and his later plays, we should compare this and other like passages in *Tamburlaine* with the similar dialogue between Isabella and Mortimer (*Ed. II*, ll. 483 *seq.*).

111. *A thousand Persian horsemen*] The exact number of the Persian horse sent against Tamburlaine is specified by Fregoso, Mexia, Perondinus and Primaudaye. See Perondinus, *Cap. iii* (where he uses the same word 'Dux' as Fregoso) and Mexia: 'Lo qual sabido por el Rey de Persia, embió un Capitan con mil de cavallo.'

113. *How . . . Zenocrate*] Notice the metre, whose irregularity gives vigour to the speech and contrasts with the smooth sliding pictures of a moment before.

Agyd. We hope yourself will willingly restore them.
Tamb. Such hope, such fortune, have the thousand horse.
Soft ye, my lords, and sweet Zenocrate.
You must be forced from me ere you go.
A thousand horsemen! We five hundred foot!
An odds too great for us to stand against.
But are they rich? And is their armour good?
Sold. Their plumed helms are wrought with beaten gold,
Their swords enamelled, and about their necks
Hangs massy chains of gold down to the waist;
In every part exceeding brave and rich.
Tamb. Then shall we fight courageously with them?
Or look you I should play the orator?
Tech. No; cowards and faint-hearted runaways
Look for orations when the foe is near.
Our swords shall play the orators for us.
Usum. Come, let us meet them at the mountain foot,
And with a sudden and an hot alarum
Drive all their horses headlong down the hill.
Tech. Come, let us march.
Tamb. Stay, Techelles; ask a parley first.

133. *foot*] *top* O_4.

126. *Hangs . . . chains*] The use of a singular verb with a plural subject is as common in Elizabethan English as it was with a collective or neuter subject in classical Greek and the other numerous instances in this play will not be noticed An alternative explanation of these forms is that they are survivals of the Northern dialect. See Arden edition of *Ant. and Cleop.*, 3rd edition, *Preface.*

128–32. *Then . . . orators*] Has Marlowe also here a sly reference to Belleforest's exhaustive compilation of *Harengues Militaires*, that immense volume into which he may already have looked? A glance at Belleforest's meticulous classification of the famous harangues of history under their various occasions and uses may well evoke more doubts than Marlowe implies here.

133. *mountain foot*] The first three editions read 'mountain foot' but O_4 reads 'mountain-top', and is followed by Dyce, Cunningham and others. Cunningham, at least, as a soldier, might have perceived that a mountain-top was no place to meet an opposing army, whether already in possession or not. Wagner points out that the change from 'foot' to 'top' may have been made in order to avoid an apparent inconsistency between ll. 133 and 135. The inconsistency is, as he says, more apparent than real. Most mountains have foothills at their feet.

The Soldiers *enter.*

Open the mails, yet guard the treasure sure,
Lay out our golden wedges to the view,
That their reflections may amaze the Persians.
And look we friendly on them when they come:
But if they offer word or violence,
We'll fight, five hundred men at arms to one,
Before we part with our possession.
And 'gainst the general we will lift our swords,
And either lanch his greedy thirsting throat,
Or take him prisoner, and his chain shall serve
For manacles till he be ransom'd home.

Tech. I hear them come; shall we encounter them?

Tamb. Keep all your standings, and not stir a foot,
Myself will bide the danger of the brunt.

Enter THERIDAMAS, *with others.*

Ther. Where is this Scythian Tamburlaine?

Tamb. Whom seekst thou, Persian? I am Tamburlaine.

Ther. Tamburlaine! A Scythian shepherd so embellished
With nature's pride and richest furniture!
His looks do menace heaven and dare the gods,
His fiery eyes are fixed upon the earth,
As if he now devis'd some stratagem,
Or meant to pierce Avernas' darksome vaults

152. *this*] *the* O_4.

138. *mails*] here, as usually, trunks, baggage.

146. *lanch*] The four early texts all read 'lanch' and it seems preferable to retain it here. The two forms 'lance' and 'launch' (sometimes spelt 'lanch' as here) in the sense of 'cut' or 'pierce' were both common.

147. *his chain*] The golden chain is referred to in l. 126. There is here, perhaps, a vague memory of Bajazet's golden chains (see Appendix D, Newton) which Marlowe disregarded when he came to that part of his narrative.

154. *Tamburlaine*] The distribution of the line follows the four old texts here, though metrically, the word 'Tamburlaine' should stand alone, for the line is complete without it.

159. *Avernas*] O_{1-4} frequently read Avernas for Avernus and that spelling is therefore retained. There is here, perhaps, a general memory

To pull the triple headed dog from hell.
Tamb. Noble and mild this Persian seems to be,
If outward habit judge the inward man.
Tech. His deep affections make him passionate.
Tamb. With what a majesty he rears his looks!—
In thee, thou valiant man of Persia,
I see the folly of thy emperor;
Art thou but captain of a thousand horse,
That by characters graven in thy brows,
And by thy martial face and stout aspect,
Deserv'st to have the leading of an host?
Forsake thy king and do but join with me,
And we will triumph over all the world.
I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains,
And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about,
And sooner shall the sun fall from his sphere
Than Tamburlaine be slain or overcome.
Draw forth thy sword, thou mighty man at arms,

166. *thy*] *the* O_3 O_4.

of the line 'Spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu'. (*Aen.* VI.)

160. *To . . . hell*] One of the twelve labours imposed upon Hercules by Eurystheus was that of fetching from Hades the guardian Cerberus. In Homer and in Hesiod Cerberus appears as the 'dogs of Hades', once (Hes.) with fifty heads. In Roman times the traditional three heads seem to have been firmly established. There are two references in Ovid which Marlowe may well have known, the story of Hercules' descent to Hades to fetch Cerberus (*Met.* VII. 409 ff.) and the lines:

'tria Cerberus extulit ora
et tres latratus simul edidit'
(*Met.* IV. 450.)

163. *affections*] 'feelings', generally. Cf. the more striking instance of II. IV. i. 177. Tamburlaine remarks upon the gentle nobility of the Persian's demeanour and Techelles, also reading the face of Theridamas, adds that its capacity for deep feeling argues a passionate nature.

164 *seq.* Tīmūr is described by most of his historians as an infallible judge of human character, and this episode, though it has no exact counterpart in their narratives, is in keeping with many such decisions actually made by the historical Tīmūr. Fregoso, Mexia, Perondinus and Primaudaye all mention this conversion of the Persian captain by force of Tamburlaine's words, but they gave Marlowe nothing more than the seed of the story. For Mexia's version see Fortescue (Appendix C), who follows him closely here.

175. *sun . . . sphere*] Marlowe's astronomy is that of Ptolemy, not of Copernicus and, again, the system of Elizabethan England rather than of fourteenth-century Persia. Hence the orbit of the

Intending but to raze my charmed skin,
And Jove himself will stretch his hand from heaven
To ward the blow, and shield me safe from harm.
See how he rains down heaps of gold in showers,
As if he meant to give my soldiers pay,
And as a sure and grounded argument
That I shall be the monarch of the East,
He sends this Soldan's daughter rich and brave,
To be my queen and portly emperess.
If thou wilt stay with me, renowmed man,
And lead thy thousand horse with my conduct,
Besides thy share of this Egyptian prize,
Those thousand horse shall sweat with martial spoil
Of conquered kingdoms and of cities sacked.
Both we will walk upon the lofty clifts,
And Christian merchants, that with Russian stems
Plough up huge furrows in the Caspian Sea,
Shall vail to us as lords of all the lake.

192. *clifts*] *cliffes* O_2.

sun round the earth, believed to be a circle, is conceived as the generating circle of a sphere. The spheres themselves, at this time ten in number, were transparent but impenetrable, carrying round the heavenly bodies fixed in them in their movement upon a common axis, as Marlowe himself describes in *Faustus* (cf. II. III. iv. 64–5 and note).

179. *Jove . . . heaven*] The immediate protection and support of Jove upon which Tamburlaine relies in the first part of the play is subtly modified, as his megalomania develops in the second part, into something more nearly resembling an equal partnership.

186. *portly*] Here, as usually, 'stately'. Compare the use of 'port' as 'bearing', 'mien', of which the adjective seems to be a specialized development.

187. *renowmed*] a common Elizabethan form from O.F. renoumer, and very frequent in this play. Cf. I. ii. 238; II. iii. 30, v. 6, etc. The modern form 'renown' also current in Elizabethan English, has been assimilated to the substantive 'renown' from O.F. 'renon'.

193–4. *merchants*] merchantmen. *stem*] here used, by metonymy, for the whole ship. *Caspian Sea*] One of the most convenient trade routes to the east involved a passage across the Caspian from the Russian to the Persian side. This couplet also occurs, with the alteration of one word, in *The Taming of a Shrew*.

195. *vail*] to lower the topsail in token of respect to a fort, flagship, etc. Cunningham has a pleasant note to the effect that 'Marlowe was thinking of his native Cinque Port country and the narrow seas when he spoke of "vailing" . . .', though why a native of Canterbury in the six-

Both we will reign as consuls of the earth,
And mighty kings shall be our senators;
Jove sometimes masked in a shepherd's weed,
And by those steps that he hath scal'd the heavens,
May we become immortal like the gods.
Join with me now in this my mean estate,
(I call it mean, because, being yet obscure,
The nations far remov'd admire me not,)
And when my name and honour shall be spread,
As far as Boreas claps his brazen wings,
Or fair Bootes sends his cheerful light,
Then shalt thou be competitor with me,
And sit with Tamburlaine in all his majesty.

Ther. Not Hermes, prolocutor to the gods,

206. *Bootes.*] *Botes* O_1 O_2. *Bo-otes* O_3. *Boetes* O_4.

teenth century should be familiar with the Cinque Port coast is not so clear. It may be added that Marlowe nowhere shows a close knowledge of seafaring terms or ways.

196–7. *consuls . . . senators*] Like many other Roman terms and allusions to Roman society, mythology and government that Marlowe puts into the mouth of Tamburlaine and other Orientals throughout the play, these are part of the European inheritance of the story. Penetrating and lasting as was the effect of the Roman Empire in the east, they would hardly have been part of the normal phraseology of fourteenth-century Persians, Tartars and Turks.

198. *Jove*] Ovid, in describing the various disguises assumed by Jove to win the love of mortal women, has the following passage, which may have rested in Marlowe's mind:

'Aureus ut Danaen, Asopida luserit ignis,
Mnemosynen pastor, varius Deoïda serpens.' *Met.* VI. 114.

It is characteristic of Marlowe's power of transmuting his material that the disguise assumed by Jove in his less reputable adventures should here be paralleled to the low birth which hides or disguises the divine spark of genius in Tamburlaine.

199. *that*] used somewhat exceptionally for the oblique case of the relative, 'by which'.

205–6. *As far . . . light*] It is the northern limit of empire that is, as often, in Tamburlaine's mind. Boreas is the north wind and Bootes or Arcturus, the Bear, is a northern constellation. The line is a close translation of Ovid, *Tristia*, III. x. 451. While still at college Marlowe had translated Ovid's *Elegies* and fragments from many of the other works can be traced in the early plays.

207. *competitor*] here comrade, partner, rather than rival. Shakespeare gives the word the same force in *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. i. 42 *seq.*:

'. . . thou, my brother, my competitor
In top of all design, my mate in empire,
Friend and companion in the front of war.'

209. *Hermes*] (Mercurius of the Romans) was the herald and messenger of the gods of Olympus

Could use persuasions more pathetical.
Tamb. Nor are Apollo's oracles more true
Than thou shalt find my vaunts substantial.
Tech. We are his friends, and if the Persian king
Should offer present dukedoms to our state,
We think it loss to make exchange for that
We are assured of by our friend's success.
Usum. And kingdoms at the least we all expect,
Besides the honour in assured conquests,
Where kings shall crouch unto our conquering swords,
And hosts of soldiers stand amaz'd at us,
When with their fearful tongues they shall confess,
These are the men that all the world admires.
Ther. What strong enchantments tice my yielding soul?
Ah, these resolved noble Scythians!
But shall I prove a traitor to my king?

224. *Ah*] *T.B. Are* O_{1-4}. *To, Rob.-Wag. As, (Qy.) T.B.*

and himself the god of eloquence; hence Marlowe's 'prolocutor to the Gods'. It is not quite clear whether Theridamas is using the word in its general sense of 'spokesman' or in its technical, legal sense of 'advocate'. Perhaps his meaning hovers between the two.

210. *pathetical*] in the general sense of moving, stimulating to emotion or to conviction.

211. *Apollo's oracles*]delivered in his capacity as the god of prophecy from the shrine at Pytho or Delphi (and from other shrines in Greece). Hence he is regarded as the patron and inspirer of all prophets (such as Cassandra in the *Agamemnon*). Perhaps the noblest use that has been made of this myth in modern literature is to be found in the pilgrimage to the oracle at Delphi to establish the guilt or innocence of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*.

Marlowe uses the word 'oracle' of the utterance made from the shrine, not of the shrine itself, a usage which is also frequent in the classical writers.

214. *to our state*] here, as often, 'for our state or position', i.e. 'should offer to raise us to the status of Dukes'.

221. *fearful*] full of fear. The Elizabethan language could use both subjectively and objectively many words of this form which to-day have only an objective application.

224. *Ah,*] The reading of the text is Brereton's conjecture, adopted by Tucker Brooke (Oxf. edn. 1910), which seems both to fit the punctuation of O_1 and to give us a pair of separate lines highly characteristic of Marlowe's style. In the absence of any evidence as to the source (MS. or print) of the text of O_1 it is fruitless to conjecture too closely as to the origin of the error in the octavos. It may be acknowledged in passing that it is difficult to imagine the 'h' of an Elizabethan English hand confused by any printer with the letters 're' in the same hand. Tucker Brooke's conjecture 'Qy. As?' (Oxf. ed., p. 20) is pertinent.

Tamb. No, but the trusty friend of Tamburlaine.
Ther. Won with thy words, and conquered with thy looks,
I yield myself, my men, and horse to thee:
To be partaker of thy good or ill,
As long as life maintains Theridamas.
Tamb. Theridamas, my friend, take here my hand.
Which is as much as if I swore by heaven,
And call'd the gods to witness of my vow,
Thus shall my heart be still combined with thine,
Until our bodies turn to elements,
And both our souls aspire celestial thrones.
Techelles, and Casane, welcome him.
Tech. Welcome renowmed Persian to us all.
Usum. Long may Theridamas remain with us.
Tamb. These are my friends in whom I more rejoice,
Than doth the king of Persia in his crown:
And by the love of Pylades and Orestes,
Whose statues we adore in Scythia,

227. *thy looks*] *looks* O_3. 238. *renowmed*] *renowned* O_3 O_4 243. *statues*] *statutes* O_1 O_2.

235. *bodies turn to elements*] What Tamburlaine pictures is the disintegration of the body, after the soul has left it to pass on to celestial regions, into the four constituent elements of which according to medieval physiological theories, not only man but all the universe was made; earth, air, fire, water being the constituent elements of the physical universe and bile (or melancholy), blood, choler and phlegm those of the temperament of man, both formed by a blending of the principles of cold, heat, dryness and moisture taken two at a time; the theory follows naturally from the study of Aristotle. Marlowe's physiology proves, upon examination, to have been purely medieval and Aristotelian, untouched by the more advanced thought of his time, shortly about to culminate in the discoveries of Harvey, and apparently far more perfunctory than was his knowledge of astronomy or mathematical science (cf. I. IV. iv. 96–100, II. III. iv. 4–9 and notes). Even here Marlowe characteristically blends Aristotelian physic with a reminiscence of *Ecclesiastes* xii. 7.

236. *aspire*] aspire to. As in *Hero and Leander: Sestiad* II, Argument, ll. 7–8: '... doth aspire Hero's fair tower and his desire.'

242. *Pylades*] the friend of Orestes who followed him home to Argos when he returned to claim his kingdom, supported him in the execution of Clytemnestra and through the sufferings which followed until the murder was expiated. See Aeschylus *Choephoroi*; Sophocles, *Electra*; Euripides, *Electra Orestes*; etc.

243. *statues*] Wagner remarks upon the partly similar cases of I. IV. ii. 105 and II. II. iv. 140. In both of these O_{1-3} read 'stature'

Thyself and them shall never part from me,
Before I crown you kings in Asia.
Make much of them, gentle Theridamas,
And they will never leave thee till the death.

Ther. Nor thee, nor them, thrice-noble Tamburlaine,
Shall want my heart to be with gladness pierc'd,
To do you honour and security.

Tamb. A thousand thanks worthy Theridamas.
And now fair madam, and my noble lords,
If you will willingly remain with me,
You shall have honours as your merits be:
Or else you shall be forc'd with slavery.

Agyd. We yield unto thee, happy Tamburlaine.

245. *kings*] *King* O_4. 253. *will*] *om.* O_3 O_4. 254. *honours*] *herors* O_1.

and O_4 reads 'statue'. Probably in both cases (certainly in the last) the reference is to a statue, and the form 'statua' is consistent with the metrical mould of the line. If this be so, we have in these two later cases a curious instance of misrepresentation due to *sound* rather than to orthography which, taken in conjunction with the similar problem of I. i. ii. 224 (see above), might point to a dictation error. On the other hand, the problem presented by the present passage rather suggests that this confusion was already incorporated in the source from which O_1 was composed and that an additional misprint of 't' for 'r' was added in O_1 O_2 though not in the later octavos. The reading of O_3 O_4 here is not really supported by Bullen's reference to Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, III. ii. 95–6:

'Mirus amor juvenum, quamvis abiere tot anni
'In Scythia magnum nunc quoque nomen habet,'

which is sufficiently general to apply either to the 'statutes' (i.e. ordinances, codes) or to the 'statues' of Pylades and Orestes. Marlowe may also have in mind a general memory of the part played by Pylades and Orestes in *Iphigeneia in Tauris*.

244. *Thyself and them*] Modern English would write 'thyself and they', but cf. Abbott, *A Shakespeare Grammar*, § 214 and *King John*, IV. ii. 50:

'Your safety, for the which myself and them
'Bend their best studies.'

248–50. *Nor . . . security*] The construction here is unusual and Robinson suggested an emendation which is not necessary. I think the latter part of the sentence is an afterthought and explanatory: 'My heart shall be found lacking neither to thee nor to them—it shall not fail to be pierced with gladness, etc.' See N.E.D. s.v. 'want' 1.d. and cf. especially 'One whose good will hath not wanted to gratifie your grace with a better thing if mine abilitie were greater'. Eden, *Treat. Newe Ind.*, Ded. (1553). An alternative explanation is 'My heart will gladly be pierced (i.e. I will die) to honour or protect you or them'.

Tamb. For you then madam, I am out of doubt.

Zeno. I must be pleased perforce, wretched Zenocrate!

[*Exeunt.*

258. *I . . . Zenocrate*] Zenocrate's feelings have not yet begun to undergo the change revealed in III. ii. It is an error to suppose that Marlowe is indifferent to the details of craftsmanship by which an audience is prepared for the emotions and events which are to play an important part in the drama, but he is inclined, especially in *Tamburlaine*, to make them unduly subtle and unobtrusive. It is his stage-craft that is at fault rather than his dramatic sense.

ACT II

SCENE I

COSROE, MENAPHON, ORTYGIUS, CENEUS, *with other* Soldiers.

Cos. Thus far are we towards Theridamas,
And valiant Tamburlaine, the man of fame,
The man that in the forehead of his fortune
Bears figures of renown and miracle.
But tell me, that hast seen him, Menaphon,
What stature wields he, and what personage?
Men. Of stature tall, and straightly fashioned,
Like his desire, lift upwards and divine,
So large of limbs, his joints so strongly knit,
Such breadth of shoulders as might mainly bear

Act II. Scene i.

2 *the*] *that* O_3.

II. i. 1. *Thus . . . Theridamas*] In the interval between the Acts an alliance has been formed between Tamburlaine and Theridamas upon the one side and Cosroe, the intending usurper of the Persian throne, upon the other. The audience which has witnessed the last scene is able to appreciate the irony of Cosroe's assumption that Tamburlaine will remain his tool, placing his genius at the service of his overlord.

3–4. *The man . . . miracle*] This appears to be an allusion to the Mahometan belief in the secret signs of destiny which Allah writes upon every man's forehead, or possibly to the seal of *Revelation* vii. 3.

7–30. *Of stature . . . Tamburlaine*] The magnificent description given by Menaphon owes little to any accounts of Tamburlaine except occasional phrases which seem to be derived directly from Perondinus (see Appendix D). Granucci's does not seem to have given Marlowe any help. He omits from Perondinus's description the lameness of Tamburlaine and his wealth of beard. The beauty is Marlowe's own and also the Platonic suggestion that the body of Tamburlaine was but the image of his mind.

7. *Of stature tall*] Cf. Per. 'Statura fuit procera' (See Appendix D.)

9. *So large of limbs*] 'Latus ab humeris et pectore,' etc. (See Appendix D.)

Old Atlas' burthen; 'twixt his manly pitch,
A pearl more worth than all the world is placed,
Wherein by curious sovereignty of art
Are fixed his piercing instruments of sight,
Whose fiery circles bear encompassed
A heaven of heavenly bodies in their spheres,
That guides his steps and actions to the throne
Where honour sits invested royally:
Pale of complexion, wrought in him with passion,
Thirsting with sovereignty and love of arms,
His lofty brows in folds do figure death,
And in their smoothness amity and life:
About them hangs a knot of amber hair,
Wrapped in curls, as fierce Achilles' was,
On which the breath of heaven delights to play,

20. *and*] *with* O_1 O_2.

11. *Atlas' burthen*] The image is Marlowe's. Atlas the Titan is represented in mythology as supporting upon his shoulders the heavens and all the stars. *Pitch*] is defined by the N.E.D. (IV. 16) as 'A projecting point of some part of the body, as the shoulder, the hip' and paralleled with this passage is Topsell's (*Four-footed beasts*) 'When the shoulder point or pitch of the shoulder [of a hare] is displaced'.

12. *A pearl*] This image seems hardly happy, but there equally seems no other interpretation than that of Dyce; the pearl is the head.

14–15. *piercing instruments . . . fiery circles*] Cf. Perondinus: 'oris truculenti . . . formidinem incutiebant.' (See Appendix D.)

15–17. *Whose . . . spheres*] I find difficulty in following Marlowe's metaphor here. Apparently the circles of Tamburlaine's eyes contain within their compass such compulsive power as is equivalent to a universe of propitious stars leading him to the throne by their influence.

19. *Pale of complexion*] This pallor of genius is Marlowe's own addition.

20. *Thirsting with sovereignty*] Perondinus elsewhere (Cap. iv) has a hint of this: 'Nam properanti insatiabili siti in regiones magis septentrionali plagae subjectas se ultro dedidere . . .'

23. *amber hair*]. This is, of course, most improbable in a Mongol and Marlowe does not seem to have had an authority for it. Rather has he in mind—as he himself admits—the description of Achilles. The golden-red colour and the length of Achilles' hair is mentioned by Homer: *Il.* I. 197 (ξανθὴ κόμη) and *Il.* XXIII. 141 (ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην). Marlowe's picture of Achilles with curls may be a reminiscence of Ovid's account of Thetis disguising him as a girl to save him from going to the war (*Met.* XIII. 162 ff.) and Statius's reference (*Achilleid*, I. 611 'cinxit purpureis flaventia tempora vittis') may account for the 'amber hair', so unlike a Tartar, and immediately followed by the comparison with Achilles.

Making it dance with wanton majesty:
His arms and fingers long and sinewy,
Betokening valour and excess of strength:
In every part proportioned like the man
Should make the world subdued to Tamburlaine.
Cos. Well hast thou pourtrayed in thy terms of life
The face and personage of a wondrous man:
Nature doth strive with Fortune and his stars
To make him famous in accomplished worth:
And well his merits shew him to be made
His fortune's master and the king of men,
That could persuade, at such a sudden pinch,
With reasons of his valour and his life,
A thousand sworn and overmatching foes.
Then, when our powers in points of swords are join'd,
And closed in compass of the killing bullet,
Though strait the passage and the port be made

27. *sinewy*] *Dyce etc. snowy* O_{1-3}. *His armes long, his fingers snowy-white* O_4.

27–8. *sinewy*] O_{1-3} read ' snowy ' which seems unsatisfactory. Dyce proposed the emendation ' sinewy ' which has been since retained, the Oxford ed. reading ' s(i)nowy ' and thus indicating the probable stages of the corruption which concluded in the well-meaning amplification ' snowy-white ' of O_4.

Perondinus has an interesting reference to the strength of Tamburlaine's arms: ' . . . valida erat usque adeo nervorum compage ut . . . Parthici ingentis arcus chordam lacertosis brachiis ultra aurem facile posset extendere.' Central Asiatic bows are of two kinds, those designed like the Persian to be drawn back till the right hand holding the string is level with the chin, and those which can be similarly drawn back level with the right ear. I am assured by an authority on these bows that considerable strength is needed to draw them at all and that no normal strength could draw them beyond the point to which they are designed to stretch. So intimate a detail of Tartar custom as this (which I have not found in any other source) suggests, as does indeed much of his narrative, that Perondinus had an additional source of information sounder than the accounts of his predecessors in Europe.

33. *Nature . . . stars*] Familiar terms from three different systems are here combined, as often with Marlowe; Nature, the Natura Dea of the Middle Ages, the power that directed the material world and was the cause of its phenomena, Fortuna, the Roman deity of chance (in contradiction to the belief in the control of the Parcae), and the stars of medieval (and ultimately Oriental) astrology directing events by influence.

42–3. *strait... life*] a reminiscence of ' Strait is the gate and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life ' (Matthew vii. 14).

That leads to palace of my brother's life,
Proud is his fortune if we pierce it not.
And when the princely Persian diadem
Shall overweigh his weary witless head,
And fall like mellowed fruit, with shakes of death,
In fair Persia noble Tamburlaine
Shall be my regent, and remain as king.

Orty. In happy hour we have set the crown
Upon your kingly head, that seeks our honour
In joining with the man ordain'd by heaven
To further every action to the best.

Cen. He that with shepherds and a little spoil,
Durst, in disdain of wrong and tyranny,
Defend his freedom 'gainst a monarchy,
What will he do supported by a king?
Leading a troop of gentlemen and lords,
And stuffed with treasure for his highest thoughts?

Cos. And such shall wait on worthy Tamburlaine.
Our army will be forty thousand strong,
When Tamburlaine and brave Theridamas
Have met us by the river Araris:
And all conjoin'd to meet the witless king,
That now is marching near to Parthia,

44. *is*] *in* O_4.

48. *fair*] The metre requires a dissyllable here. Words or syllables ending in 'r' frequently vary in Elizabethan English and are valued as monosyllables or dissyllables according to the demands of the metre. Compare 'hour' in l. 50, which, in the early texts is significantly spelt 'hower'.

59. *stuff*] has here the now obsolete sense of to furnish support or money to a person. The word has depreciated since the late sixteenth century, when it could be regularly used in a serious and even dignified context. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. 183. 'A Gentleman . . . Stuft as they say with Honourable parts.'

63. *the river Araris*] Does Marlowe mean 'Araxes'? There are two rivers of this name, one on which Persepolis was situated, and the other in Armenia. Probably it is the second that is meant here. Ortelius marks it clearly, flowing east through Armenia into the Caspian Sea. Herodotus refers to the Oxus as the Araxes, which introduced a further possibility of confusion for the Elizabethans. D. C. Allen, however, thinks that Marlowe's Araris is better identified with the river Ararus in Scythia

65. *near to Parthia*] The Persian army is described as moving north towards the territory about the Caspian Sea. Marlowe is intentionally vague about the actual site of this unhistorical battle.

And with unwilling soldiers faintly arm'd,
To seek revenge on me and Tamburlaine.
To whom, sweet Menaphon, direct me straight.
Men. I will, my lord. [*Exeunt*

SCENE II

MYCETES, MEANDER, *with other* Lords *and* Soldiers

Myc. Come my Meander, let us to this gear.
I tell you true, my heart is swoln with wrath
On this same thievish villain Tamburlaine,
And of that false Cosroe, my traitorous brother.
Would it not grieve a king to be so abused,
And have a thousand horsemen ta'en away?
And, which is worse, to have his diadem
Sought for by such scald knaves as love him not?
I think it would: well then, by heavens I swear,
Aurora shall not peep out of her doors,
But I will have Cosroe by the head,
And kill proud Tamburlaine with point of sword.
Tell you the rest, Meander, I have said.
Mean. Then, having passed Armenian deserts now,

Scene ii.

7. *worse*] *worst* O_1 O_3 O_4.

Act II. Scene ii.

1. *gear*] business, as often with the Elizabethans. Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, I. i. 6: 'Will this *gear* ne'er be mended' and North (*Plutarch*) 'whilest this gere was a-brewing'.

3, 4. *On, of*] The two prepositions are used interchangeably to signify the direction or the object of the emotion.

8. *scald*] mean, contemptible, low.

11. *Cosroe*] as usually, a trisyllable.

14–17. *Then . . . ambush*] Meander describes the position of the army and its previous line of march, which has been described by Cosroe in the previous scene as 'marching near to Parthia'. The army of Mycetes has passed the Armenian deserts and reached the foothills of the Caucasus, or Georgian mountains, where it has come into touch with the northern army of Tamburlaine. The district in which both armies are marching lies, roughly, between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. The Tartar army, being in advance, has taken possession of the fast places in the mountains.

And pitched our tents under the Georgian hills,
Whose tops are covered with Tartarian thieves,
That lie in ambush, waiting for a prey,
What should we do but bid them battle straight,
And rid the world of those detested troops?
Lest, if we let them linger here a while,
They gather strength by power of fresh supplies.
This country swarms with vile outrageous men,
That live by rapine and by lawless spoil,
Fit soldiers for the wicked Tamburlaine.
And he that could with gifts and promises
Inveigle him that led a thousand horse,
And make him false his faith unto his king,
Will quickly win such as are like himself.
Therefore cheer up your minds; prepare to fight.
He that can take or slaughter Tamburlaine,
Shall rule the province of Albania.
Who brings that traitor's head, Theridamas,
Shall have a government in Media,
Beside the spoil of him and all his train.
But if Cosroe (as our spials say,
And as we know) remains with Tamburlaine,
His highness' pleasure is that he should live,
And be reclaim'd with princely lenity.

Enter a Spy.

Spy. An hundred horsemen of my company,
Scouting abroad upon these champion plains,

15. *pitched*] *pitch* O_1. 24. *the*] *that* O_4. 27. *his king*] *the King* O_3 O_4. 28. *are*] *be* O_2. 34. *Beside*] *Besides* O_4. 38. S.D.] *Add. Dyce.* 40. *champion*] *campion* O_3.

22. *outrageous*] 'fierce', 'violent'.

27. *false*] to betray or go back upon his word.

31. *Albania*] for the Ancients and for Ortelius is the district lying along the west coast of the Caspian Sea, north of the Caucasus.

32. *Theridamas*] a genitive in apposition to 'traitor's', a construction more common in fully inflected than in relatively uninflected languages.

33. *Media*] the north-eastern portion of the Persian Empire, in Ortelius immediately south of the Caspian Sea.

35. *spials*] espials, spies.

40. *champion plains*] level stretches of open country.

Have view'd the army of the Scythians,
Which make report it far exceeds the king's.
Mean. Suppose they be in number infinite,
Yet being void of martial discipline,
All running headlong after greedy spoils,
And more regarding gain than victory,
Like to the cruel brothers of the earth,
Sprung of the teeth of dragons venomous,
Their careless swords shall lanch their fellows' throats
And make us triumph in their overthrow.
Myc. Was there such brethren, sweet Meander, say,
That sprung of teeth of dragons venomous?
Mean. So poets say, my lord.
Myc. And 'tis a pretty toy to be a poet.
Well, well, Meander, thou art deeply read;
And having thee, I have a jewel sure.
Go on my lord, and give your charge, I say;
Thy wit will make us conquerors to-day.
Mean. Then noble soldiers, to entrap these thieves,
That live confounded in disordered troops,
If wealth or riches may prevail with them,
We have our camels laden all with gold,

42. *make*] *makes* O_4. *report*] *reports* O_1 O_3. 48. *teeth of*] *om.* O_3 O_4.

43–50. *Suppose . . . overthrow*] The picture which Meander draws represents fairly the armies of many eastern powers at this time, distinguished rather for size than for organization or mobility. The Mongols, as Marlowe knew and as the lives of Tamburlaine unanimously insist, gained their chief advantage by the strictness of their discipline and the excellence of their communication, transport and fighting organization. Tīmūr's army was never seduced by spoils until the fighting was over; the preparations of Meander, though reasonable enough, are foredoomed to failure. The transferred epithet which appears here in 'greedy spoils' is rare with Marlowe.

48. *teeth of dragons*] Cadmus, in the mythological accounts, after killing the dragon that guarded the well of Ares, sowed the dragon's teeth in the earth. There sprang up therefrom armed men who fell to fighting and slaying each other. There were five survivors, who became the ancestors of the Thebans.

54. *And . . . poet*] Even those critics who have denied Marlowe a sense of humour have not denied a biting irony which approaches near it. With this sly comment we can compare his later reflections upon the fate of Mercury and his sons, the poets (*Hero and Leander: Sestiad* I., ll. 465–482).

Which you that be but common soldiers
Shall fling in every corner of the field;
And while the base-born Tartars take it up,
You, fighting more for honour than for gold,
Shall massacre those greedy minded slaves.
And when their scattered army is subdu'd,
And you march on their slaughtered carcasses,
Share equally the gold that bought their lives,
And live like gentlemen in Persia.
Strike up the drum, and march courageously,
Fortune herself doth sit upon our crests.

Myc. He tells you true, my masters, so he does.
Drums, why sound ye not when Meander speaks?

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III

COSROE, TAMBURLAINE, THERIDAMAS, TECHELLES, USUMCASANE, ORTYGIUS, *with others.*

Cos. Now, worthy Tamburlaine, have I reposed
In thy approved fortunes all my hope.
What thinkst thou, man, shall come of our attempts?
For, even as from assured oracle,
I take thy doom for satisfaction.

Tamb. And so mistake you not a whit, my lord.
For fates and oracles [of] heaven have sworn
To royalise the deeds of Tamburlaine,

72. *the*] *om.* O_3 O_4. 75. *Meander*] *Meand.* O_1. *Mean.* O_{2-4}.

Scene iii.

Heading] *Actus* 1, *Scoena* 2 O_3 O_4. 7. [*of*]] *Add. Rob. etc. om* O_{1-4}.

Act II. Scene iii.

7. [*of*]] A word of one syllable has fallen out in all the early texts. Robinson's addition is adopted here. 'Fates and oracles of heaven' may be compared with II. i. 33 and the note on that line. The use of the word 'heaven' here suggests a mingling of pagan and Christian systems such as was common with many of the Elizabethans but with none more than with Marlowe.

And make them blest that share in his attempts.
And doubt you not but, if you favour me
And let my fortunes and my valour sway
To some direction in your martial deeds,
The world will strive with hosts of men at arms
To swarm unto the ensign I support.
The hosts of Xerxes, which by fame is said
To drink the mighty Parthian Araris,
Was but a handful to that we will have;
Our quivering lances shaking in the air
And bullets like Jove's dreadful thunderbolts
Enrolled in flames and fiery smouldering mists
Shall threat the gods more than Cyclopian wars;
And with our sun-bright armour, as we march,
We'll chase the stars from heaven and dim their eyes

12. *To some*] *To scorne* O_1. 13. *will*] *shall* O_3 O_4.

11–12. *sway To some direction*] means, I think, 'Prevail so as to give me some degree of control'.

15. *The hosts of Xerxes*] Xerxes brought his army, said to be of fabulous size, against the Greek empire in 480 B.C.; it was defeated and scattered at Salamis. For the Greek interpretation of the story we have the *Persae* of Aeschylus. But Marlowe is more likely to have read the tale in Herodotus or a derivative of his history. (Compare Herodotus, VII. 21. 43, etc.). Even so, some version has intervened between Marlowe and Herodotus here, supplying the more fabulous accompaniments.

16. *Parthian Araris*] See II. i. 63 and note. The legend here referred to is given by Herodotus, VII. 21; but the river he speaks of as Araxes is probably either the Oxus, the Jaxartes or the Volga. Sir Thomas Browne (*Pseud. Ep.*, Book VII, Cap. 18) reports the legend but does not name the river. Haytoun (*Les Fleurs des hystoires de la terre Dorient*, Part V. ch. vii., Sig. Piv.) repeats the comment of Pius II on Tamburlaine in words which are close to Marlowe's lines: 'Les gens et les chevaulx de son ost en beuvant ont mys plusieurs grans fleuves a sec tant estoyt la nombre grant. Il estoyt plus puissant que iamais ne furent xerses ne darius et se nommoit lire de dieu.'

20. *Enrolled . . . mists*] Modern gunpowder was unknown to the Tartars, though various explosives approximating to it seem to have been used by Tīmūr. The national weapon of most central Asiatic races is, however, the bow. The historians from whom Marlowe drew his account were more or less unaware of this fact, and he makes hardly any mention of it, drawing instead upon the accounts of Tīmūr's use of siege engines and European armaments, which had accumulated as the story travelled west.

21. *Cyclopian*] Marlowe identifies the Cyclopes, as do many classical writers, with the Titans, who attacked the empire of Jove. (See II. vi. 2 and note, and compare Homer, *Od.*, IX.)

That stand and muse at our admired arms.
Ther. You see, my lord, what working words he hath.
But, when you see his actions top his speech,
Your speech will stay, or so extol his worth
As I shall be commended and excused
For turning my poor charge to his direction.
And these his two renowmed friends, my lord,
Would make one thrust and strive to be retain'd
In such a great degree of amity.
Tech. With duty and with amity we yield
Our utmost service to the fair Cosroe.
Cos. Which I esteem as portion of my crown.
Usumcasane and Techelles both,
When she that rules in Rhamnis' golden gates
And makes a passage for all prosperous arms,
Shall make me solely emperor of Asia,
Then shall your meeds and valours be advanced
To rooms of honour and nobility.
Tamb. Then haste, Cosroe, to be king alone,
That I with these my friends and all my men
May triumph in our long expected fate.
The king your brother is now hard at hand;
Meet with the fool, and rid your royal shoulders

26. *top*] *Dyce etc. stop* O_{1-4}. 31. *thrust*] *thrist* O_4. 33. *and*] *not* O_{1-3}. 34. *the*] *thee* O_3 O_4. 40. *meeds*] *deeds* O_4.

26. *top.*] The old texts unanimously read 'stop'. 'Top' was suggested by Dyce and has been followed by subsequent editors, including Wagner and Tucker Brooke, one of the few deviations the latter editor permits from the text of O_1. The use of 'top' in this sense can be readily paralleled (cf. *Hamlet*, IV. iv. 89, 'So far he topp'd my thought').

30. *renowmed*] see I. ii. 187 and note.

31. *thrust*] the reading of O_{1-3}; 'thrist', of O_4, Dyce emended to thirst and was followed by several subsequent editors.

37. *Rhamnis*] The early texts have the form Rhamnis (instead of Rhamnus), which is therefore retained. The reference is to the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus in Attica. References to Rhamnusia occur in Ovid, one of Marlowe's favourite classical authors, and it is possibly one of these passages that he has in mind here. (See *Trist.*, V. 8, 9 and *Metam.*, III. 406.)

Of such a burden as outweighs the sands
And all the craggy rocks of Caspea.

Enter a Messenger.

Mes. My lord, we have discovered the enemy
Ready to charge you with a mighty army.
Cos. Come, Tamburlaine, now whet thy winged sword
And lift thy lofty arm into the clouds,
That it may reach the king of Persia's crown
And set it safe on my victorious head.
Tamb. See where it is, the keenest curtle-axe
That e'er made passage thorough Persian arms!
These are the wings shall make it fly as swift
As doth the lightning or the breath of heaven,
And kill as sure as it swiftly flies.
Cos. Thy words assure me of kind success.
Go, valiant soldier, go before and charge
The fainting army of that foolish king.
Tamb. Usumcasane and Techelles, come.
We are enough to scare the enemy,
And more than needs to make an emperor. [*Exeunt.*

48. S.D.] *Add Dyce.* 55. *curtle-axe*] *Cutle-axe* O_1 O_2. 64. *enough*] *enow* O_2. 65. S.D.] *Add. Rob.*

48. *Caspea*] The Caspian Sea.

55. *curtle-axe*] A European weapon again. The Scythian warriors carried bows and swords, sometimes also daggers, but not, as a rule, axes.

59, 60. *sure . . . assure*] Marlowe apparently scans these as dissyllabic and trisyllabic words.

SCENE IV

To the battle and MYCETES *comes out alone with his crown in his hand, offering to hide it.*

Myc. Accurst be he that first invented war!
They knew not, ah, they knew not, simple men,
How those were hit by pelting cannon shot
Stand staggering like a quivering aspen leaf
Fearing the force of Boreas' boisterous blasts.
In what a lamentable case were I,
If nature had not given me wisdom's lore!
For kings are clouts that every man shoots at,
Our crown the pin that thousands seek to cleave;
Therefore in policy I think it good
To hide it close; a goodly stratagem,
And far from any man that is a fool.
So shall not I be known; or if I be,
They cannot take away my crown from me.
Here will I hide it in this simple hole

Enter TAMBURLAINE.

Tamb. What fearful coward straggling from the camp,
When kings themselves are present in the field?

Scene iv.

Heading Scene iv] *Add. Dyce.* 4. *Stand*] *Stand those* O_4.

Act II. Scene iv.

1–5. *Accurst . . . blasts*] The sympathy and insight of Marlowe's study of Mycetes is never more clearly shown than in these lines. The figure of Tamburlaine was not the only one that Marlowe was capable of drawing at this time, though the mood of the weak, timid degenerate is necessarily strictly subordinate in a play of conquest and victory.

3. *those were*] elliptic; 'those who were'.

5. *Boreas*] The common Latin name for the personified north wind.

8 *kings . . . at*] A favourite metaphor with Marlowe's contemporaries, familiar with archery, which, encouraged by a measure of government support, was still an everyday pastime The clout is the central mark of the butts, to hit which is the aim of the archer; the pin is the nail in its centre that fastens it in place. 'To cleave the pin' is, of course, a triumph achieved only by the highest skill. References such as this to familiar objects of Elizabethan daily life, which are frequent in Shakespeare, are rare in Marlowe, particularly in the earlier plays.

Myc. Thou liest.
Tamb. Base villain, darst thou give the lie?
Myc. Away! I am the king. Go, touch me not.
Thou breakst the law of arms unless thou kneel
And cry me 'Mercy, noble king!'
Tamb. Are you the witty king of Persia?
Myc. Ay, marry, am I; have you any suit to me?
Tamb. I would entreat you to speak but three wise words.
Myc. So I can when I see my time.
Tamb. Is this your crown?
Myc. Ay. Didst thou ever see a fairer?
Tamb. You will not sell it, will ye?
Myc. Such another word, and I will have thee executed.
Come, give it me.
Tamb. No; I took it prisoner.
Myc. You lie; I gave it you.
Tamb. Then 'tis mine.
Myc. No; I mean I let you keep it.
Tamb. Well, I mean you shall have it again.
Here, take it for a while; I lend it thee,
Till I may see thee hemm'd with armed men.
Then shalt thou see me pull it from thy head;
Thou art no match for mighty Tamburlaine. [*Exit.*
Myc. O gods, is this Tamburlaine the thief?
I marvel much he stole it not away.
[*Sound trumpets to the battle and he runs in.*

19 *give*] *give me* O_4. 40. S.D.] *Add. Dyce.*

23. *witty*] This word had a wider meaning in Elizabethan than in modern English. Tamburlaine uses it here to mean sagacious and discreet or, perhaps, intelligent and capable. Either, applied to Mycetes caught in the act of hiding the crown, is heavy and obvious sarcasm.

28–35. *Ay . . . keep it*] Mycetes, perhaps under stress of a stage-manager's demand for comic relief, degenerates in this part of the scene into a conventional imbecile. It is also worth noticing that this passage is in prose, a medium Marlowe never appears to choose willingly, and that it may therefore be a survival of those 'fond and frivolous gestures' of which Richard Jones '(purposely) omitted' some in setting up the text. Whether these 'gestures' were by another hand or by Marlowe's under compulsion, we may be equally sure they were no part of his original intention.

SCENE V

COSROE, TAMBURLAINE, THERIDAMAS, MENAPHON, MEANDER, ORTYGIUS, TECHELLES, USUMCASANE, *with others.*

Tamb. Hold thee, Cosroe; wear two imperial crowns.
Think thee invested now as royally,
Even by the mighty hand of Tamburlaine,
As if as many kings as could encompass thee
With greatest pomp had crown'd thee emperor.
Cos. So do I, thrice renowmed man at arms;
And none shall keep the crown but Tamburlaine.
Thee do I make my regent of Persia,
And general lieutenant of my armies.
Meander, you that were our brother's guide,
And chiefest counsellor in all his acts,
Since he is yielded to the stroke of war,
On your submission we with thanks excuse,
And give you equal place in our affairs.
Mean. Most happy emperor, in humblest terms
I vow my service to your majesty,
With utmost virtue of my faith and duty.
Cos. Thanks, good Meander. Then, Cosroe, reign,
And govern Persia in her former pomp.
Now send embassage to thy neighbour kings,
And let them know the Persian king is chang'd
From one that knew not what a king should do
To one that can command what 'longs thereto.

Scene v.

Heading Scene v] *Add. Dyce.* 11. *chiefest*] *chiefe* O_2. 15. *happy*] *happiest* O_3 O_4. 16. *your*] *you* O_2. 20. *embassage*] *Ambassage* O_1 O_2.

Act II. Scene v.

8. *Persia*] should, as usually in this play, be scanned as a trisyllabic word.

11. *chiefest*] There is nothing unusual in this double superlative form, and it is difficult to see why the printer of O_2 should have wished to change it.

And now we will to fair Persepolis
With twenty thousand expert soldiers.
The lords and captains of my brother's camp
With little slaughter take Meander's course,
And gladly yield them to my gracious rule.
Ortygius and Menaphon, my trusty friends,
Now will I gratify your former good,
And grace your calling with a greater sway.

Orty. And as we ever aimed at your behoof,
And sought your state all honour it deserv'd,
So will we with our powers and our lives
Endeavour to preserve and prosper it.

Cos. I will not thank thee, sweet Ortygius;
Better replies shall prove my purposes.
And now, Lord Tamburlaine, my brother's camp
I leave to thee and to Theridamas,
To follow me to fair Persepolis.
Then will we march to all those Indian mines

32. *aimed*] *and* O_1 O_2. 33. *it*] *is* O_2. 34. *our lives*] *lives* O_2. 41. *we*] *I* O_2 O_4.

24. *Persepolis*] was not actually at this time a ruin; it had been reduced by Alexander in 331 B.C., but was presumably to some extent rebuilt as it figures later in ancient and medieval history. None of the historians of Tīmûr mention it among the Persian cities when describing his conquests there—Bizarus (*Lib. Duodec*, p. 412) describes its ancient glory and destruction by Alexander—and Marlowe seems to have elevated it to a position which neither history nor his sources accord to it. For the full justification of this innovation we have only to read the lines 50–4 of this scene.

25. *expert*] here slightly nearer to the original Latin meaning of 'expertus', passively used, than to the modern English; 'proved' rather than 'technically proficient'.

29. A metrically difficult line, best scanned as an Alexandrine.

33. *state*] here, power, position, high rank.

41. *Indian mines*] Darius I (521–485 B.C.) had originally annexed the gold-bearing country of Kashmir and much territory about the Indus. It is not easy to say by whom, or at what date before Tīmûr's coming, they were lost to the Persians. Persia fell under the dominion of Jenghiz Khan at the end of the twelfth century and from then to the death of Abu Sa'id (1335) was an Empire (paying nominal homage to the Khakhan in China) stretching from Egypt to the territory of Tagatai and from the bounds of China to those of the Byzantine Empire. A period of disintegration followed the death of Abu Sa'id, during which a large number of minor dynasties, Mongol

My witless brother to the Christians lost,
And ransom them with fame and usury.
And till thou overtake me Tamburlaine,
(Staying to order all the scattered troops,)
Farewell, lord regent and his happy friends.
I long to sit upon my brother's throne.

Mena. Your majesty shall shortly have your wish,
And ride in triumph through Persepolis. [*Exeunt.*

[*Manent* TAMB., THER., TECH., AND USUM.

Tamb. And ride in triumph through Persepolis!
Is it not brave to be a king, Techelles?
Usumcasane and Theridamas,
Is it not passing brave to be a king,
And ride in triumph through Persepolis?

Tech. O, my lord, 'tis sweet and full of pomp!

Usum. To be a king, is half to be a god.

Ther. A god is not so glorious as a king:
I think the pleasure they enjoy in heaven,
Cannot compare with kingly joys in earth;
To wear a crown enchas'd with pearl and gold,
Whose virtues carry with it life and death;
To ask and have, command and be obeyed;
When looks breed love, with looks to gain the prize,
Such power attractive shines in princes' eyes.

Tamb. Why, say, Theridamas, wilt thou be a king?

Ther. Nay, though I praise it, I can live without it.

48. Prefix *Mena*] *Mean* O_2

and non-Mongol, rose and fell, until Tīmūr united the whole again briefly in the Tīmūrid dynasty. It is this disturbed period, just before the coming of Tīmūr, that Marlowe has chosen for the setting of the unhistorical events of the opening scenes of the play.

59. *in earth*] (modern 'on earth') is common among Elizabethans and familiar to them as to modern readers from the clause 'Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven' (Matthew vi. 9).

60–4. *To wear . . . eyes*] The imaginations of Tamburlaine's followers are pedestrian and literal beside the undefined aspiration of their leader. The dreams of Theridamas recall those of Richard:

'How sweet a thing it is to wear a crown
'Within whose circuit is Elysium
'And all that poets feign of bliss and joy.'
(*3 Henry VI*, I. ii. 29–31.)

Tamb. What says my other friends, will you be kings?
Tech. I, if I could, with all my heart, my lord.
Tamb. Why, that's well said, Techelles; so would I.
And so would you, my masters, would you not?
Usum. What then my lord?
Tamb. Why then, Casane, shall we wish for ought
The world affords in greatest novelty,
And rest attemptless, faint and destitute?
Methinks we should not. I am strongly mov'd.
That if I should desire the Persian crown,
I could attain it with a wondrous ease;
And would not all our soldiers soon consent,
If we should aim at such a dignity?
Ther. I know they would with our persuasions.
Tamb. Why then, Theridamas, I'll first assay
To get the Persian kingdom to myself;
Then thou for Parthia; they for Scythia and Media;
And if I prosper, all shall be as sure
As if the Turk, the Pope, Afric and Greece
Came creeping to us with their crowns a-piece.
Tech. Then shall we send to this triumphing king,
And bid him battle for his novel crown?
Usum. Nay, quickly, then, before his room be hot.
Tamb. 'Twill prove a pretty jest, in faith, my friends.
Ther. A jest to charge on twenty thousand men?
I judge the purchase more important far.
Tamb. Judge by thyself, Theridamas, not me;

72. *Casane*] *Casanes* O_{1-4}. 86. *a-piece*] *apace* O_1 O_2.

72. *Casane*] obviously intended here, though 'Casanes' is the reading of O_{1-4}.

85. *As if . . . Greece*] Tamburlaine names the four potentates whose submission would virtually make him emperor of the world: the Turkish emperor representing Anatolia, some of the western Black Sea coast, the Levant, and several African Provinces; the Pope being the spiritual head of Christendom; the Soldan of Egypt standing for the chief empire of the African continent; the Emperor of Greece the surviving eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire with its seat at Constantinople.

92. *purchase*] here endeavour, undertaking; Theridamas has not yet caught to the full the exaltation of Tamburlaine and his followers.

For presently Techelles here shall haste
To bid him battle ere he pass too far,
And lose more labour than the gain will quite.
Then shalt thou see the Scythian Tamburlaine
Make but a jest to win the Persian crown.
Techelles, take a thousand horse with thee
And bid him turn him back to war with us,
That only made him king to make us sport.
We will not steal upon him cowardly,
But give him warning and more warriors.
Haste thee, Techelles; we will follow thee.

[*Exit Techelles.*

What saith Theridamas?

Ther. Go on, for me. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE VI

COSROE, MEANDER, ORTYGIUS, MENAPHON, *with other* Soldiers.

Cos. What means this devilish shepherd, to aspire
With such a giantly presumption,
To cast up hills against the face of heaven,
And dare the force of angry Jupiter?
But as he thrust them underneath the hills,

95. *too*] *to* O_2 O_4. 97. *the*] *this* O_2. 100. *him back*]*Rob. etc. his back* O_{1-4}. 103. *and*] *with* O_4. 104. S.D.] *Add. Dyce etc.*

Scene vi.

4. *Jupiter*] *Iupititer* O_2.

96. *quite*] repay or reward.

106. *for me*] as usually, 'As far as I am concerned',

Act II. Scene vi.

2. *giantly*] A rare adjective. The more usual form even in Elizabethan English was 'giantlike'. The reference in this and the next two lines is to the Titans and their war against Jove, described by many writers, Ovid among them. See *Met.* I. 151–5. One line there comes near to Marlowe's phrasing:

'Altaque congestos struxisse ad sidera montes.'

There is a slight confusion here in Marlowe's mythology. It was Typhœus who was buried under Aetna, not the rebellious Titans.

And pressed out fire from their burning jaws,
So will I send this monstrous slave to hell,
Where flames shall ever feed upon his soul.
Mean. Some powers divine, or else infernal, mixed
Their angry seeds at his conception;
For he was never sprung of human race,
Since with the spirit of his fearful pride,
He dares so doubtlessly resolve of rule,
And by profession be ambitious.
Orty. What god or fiend or spirit of the earth
Or monster turned to a manly shape,
Or of what mould or mettle he be made,
What star or state soever govern him,
Let us put on our meet encountering minds,
And in detesting such a devilish thief,
In love of honour and defence of right,
Be arm'd against the hate of such a foe,
Whether from earth or hell or heaven he grow.
Cos. Nobly resolv'd, my good Ortygius.
And since we all have sucked one wholesome air,
And with the same proportion of elements
Resolve, I hope we are resembled,
Vowing our loves to equal death and life.
Let's cheer our soldiers to encounter him,
That grievous image of ingratitude,

13. *dares*] *dare* O_3 O_4.

13. *doubtlessly*] 'free from the sense of doubt', 'without misgiving'. Cf. Shakespeare, *King John*, IV. i. 130, 'Pretty childe, sleepe *doubtlesse* and secure.' No instance of *doubtlessly* in this sense is given by N.E.D. *resolve of*] 'resolve upon', 'set his mind upon'. The whole may be paraphrased, 'He dares resolve so unhesitatingly to rule and so openly declares his ambition.'

17. *mettle*] in the general sense of disposition, temperament.

25–8. *since . . . life*] A somewhat obscure passage. For the idea of dissolution after death we may compare Tamburlaine's words, I. ii. 235. I take Cosroe's meaning to be 'As we, being men, have all lived by breathing the same air and shall all dissolve at death into the same proportions of the elements of which we are made up, I hope we are determined to be equally alike in our fates, whether of death or of life'.

That fiery thirster after sovereignty,
And burn him in the fury of that flame
That none can quench but blood and empery.
Resolve, my lords and loving soldiers, now
To save your king and country from decay.
Then strike up, drum; and all the stars that make
The loathsome circle of my dated life,
Direct my weapon to his barbarous heart,
That thus opposeth him against the gods,
And scorns the powers that govern Persia! 40

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE VII

Enter to the battle, and after the battle enter COSROE *wounded,* THERIDAMAS, TAMBURLAINE, TECHELLES, USUMCASANE, *with others.*

Cos. Barbarous and bloody Tamburlaine,
Thus to deprive me of my crown and life!
Treacherous and false Theridamas,
Even at the morning of my happy state,
Scarce being seated in my royal throne,
To work my downfall and untimely end!
An uncouth pain torments my grieved soul
And death arrests the organ of my voice,
Who, entering at the breach thy sword hath made,

40. S.D.] *Add Wag. etc.*

Scene vii.
Heading Scene vii] Add. Dyce.

32–3. *And burn . . . empery*] Cosroe apparently means that Tamburlaine's ambition, thwarted by defeat, will destroy him by its own fury.

37. 'my', the reading of O_{1-4} is retained here. Collier suggested emending to 'his', but Tamburlaine's life was in no sense 'dated' or 'limited' by the stars, which consistently fought for him. Cosroe, on the other hand, has reason to feel weary of his life, though the sentiment is a little unexpected. In support of the reading 'his' it may be noted that Cosroe is resolved (l. 7) upon the destruction of Tamburlaine.

Sacks every vein and artier of my heart. 10
Bloody and insatiate Tamburlaine!

Tamb. The thirst of reign and sweetness of a crown,
That caused the eldest son of heavenly Ops
To thrust his doting father from his chair,
And place himself in the imperial heaven,
Mov'd me to manage arms against thy state.
What better precedent than mighty Jove?
Nature, that fram'd us of four elements

Act II. Scene vii.

10. *vein and artier*] Marlowe's knowledge of physiology, unlike his knowledge of pure or speculative science, seems, as has been said, to have been little more than is found in many of his contemporaries. Vague foreshadowings of Harvey's conception of the circulation are not uncommon at this time, though they usually resolve, upon examination, into mere generalities. In Part II. IV. i. 178–9 Trebisond refers to 'spirit, vein and artier' feeding the heart. But neither passage suggests that the functions of veins and arteries are definitely distinguished.

13. *eldest son . . . Ops*] The career of Jove as described by Ovid and other story-tellers seems to have laid hold upon Marlowe's imagination; there are few episodes in it which are not touched on directly or obliquely in this play and no other passages of classical mythology seem to come more readily into his mind. It is, of course, peculiarly fitting to the story of Tamburlaine and to Marlowe's mood in this early period.

15. *imperial*] The reading of the text is the modern equivalent of the form Emperiall of O_{1-4} here and elsewhere. I think, however, that there is little doubt that this form does duty equally for the modern empyreal' and 'imperial'. F. R. Johnson explains that the term 'had a precise technical meaning in Renaissance astronomy. The *cælum empyreum* or empyrical heaven was the immovable heaven lying just beyond the outermost moving sphere (the *primum mobile*) and enclosing within its concavity all the movable celestial spheres.'

16. *to manage arms*] A common phrase at this period for waging war. See Part II. v. iii. 36 and note.

18–26. *Nature . . . never rest*] The lines that follow form one of the most beautiful and perhaps the most completely characteristic passages of poetry in Marlowe's work. They are the key not only to the spirit of Tamburlaine and to the mood in which the first part of the play is conceived, but to Marlowe's thought whenever it is occupied with the themes that were most significant to him. Physiologically his man is formed, like Aristotle's, of four elements (see the note to I. ii. 235) which dispute with each other, in a perfect temperament, for supreme control (regiment). But, adds Marlowe, the fact that this warfare is a part of Nature's purpose and that she gives us so unquestionable evidence of it, teaches us that strife and aspiration should be the law of our spiritual being also. Then, mingling with this the Platonic conception of the soul as the seed of divine potentiality in man, he perceives this element urging the same conclusion. Finally, Marlowe, the Elizabethan astronomer, the man who loved the movements of the stars more than the familiar surface of the earth, measures man's divinity by his highest achievement: the comprehension of 'the wondrous architecture of the world'. As he watches the moving heavens that never rest, he perceives that there is, moreover, a

Warring within our breasts for regiment,
Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds:
Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous architecture of the world,
And measure every wandering planet's course,
Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
And always moving as the restless spheres,
Wills us to wear ourselves and never rest,
Until we reach the ripest fruit of all,
That perfect bliss and sole felicity,
The sweet fruition of an earthly crown.

Ther. And that made me to join with Tamburlaine;
For he is gross and like the massy earth
That moves not upwards, nor by princely deeds
Doth mean to soar above the highest sort.

Tech. And that made us, the friends of Tamburlaine,
To lift our swords against the Persian king.

Usum. For as, when Jove did thrust old Saturn down,
Neptune and Dis gain'd each of them a crown,
So do we hope to reign in Asia,

27. *fruit*] *fruites* O_2.

profound bond between their destiny and that of the 'soul of man', the one 'still climbing after knowledge infinite', the other also ever moving. More than any other passage, these lines of Marlowe's recall those of Ptolemaeus: 'I know that I am mortal and emphemeral; but when I scan the multitudinous circling spirals of the stars, no longer do I touch earth with my feet, but sit with Zeus himself, and take my fill of the ambrosial food of gods.' (J. W. Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, IV. xxxii)

27–9. *Until . . . crown*] 'The rest', says Mr. Havelock Ellis in a fine comment upon this passage, 'is Scythian bathos.' Tamburlaine's aspiration sinks, exhausted for the moment, to repeat the interpretations his followers had put upon it (see II. v. 60 and note) even as, in the second part of the play, Marlowe's whole conception seems to sink to that level. Two recent commentators, Battenhouse and Kocher, have discussed at length the relation of these lines to contemporary political and religious thought and Hallett Smith compares Le Roy (fol 27).

31–3. *For he . . . soar*] The earth, the heaviest of the four elements, combining the properties of 'dryness' and 'coldness' was typical of grossness and dullness of nature. Any man, Theridamas says, that moves not upwards led by an aspiration such as Tamburlaine's, is only a clod of earth.

36–9 *For as . . . Persia*] The rimes here are unfortunate but undeniable. There is no ground for assuming the passage to be unauthentic. Neptune and Dis, the Poseidon and Hades of Greek mythology, were the two brothers of Zeus and shared the rule of the universe with him (Poseidon governing the sea and Hades the underworld), when the empire of Cronus (Saturn), and the older gods gave place to that of Zeus.

If Tamburlaine be plac'd in Persia.
Cos. The strangest men that ever nature made!
I know not how to take their tyrannies.
My bloodless body waxeth chill and cold;
And with my blood my life slides through my wound;
My soul begins to take her flight to hell,
And summons all my senses to depart;
The heat and moisture which did feed each other,
For want of nourishment to feed them both,
Is dry and cold; and now doth ghastly death
With greedy talents gripe my bleeding heart,
And like a harpy tires on my life.
Theridamas and Tamburlaine, I die:
And fearful vengeance light upon you both!
[*Tamburlaine takes the crown, and puts it on.*
Tamb. Not all the curses which the furies breathe
Shall make me leave so rich a prize as this.
Theridamas Techelles, and the rest,
Who think you now is king of Persia?

42. *chill*] *child* O_3. 50. *harpy*] *Harpyr* O_1 O_3 *Harper* O_4. 52. S.D. *Tamburlaine*] *Dyce etc. He* O_{1-4}. 53. *the furies*] *thy furies* O_2.

44–5. *My soul . . . depart*] An interesting passage, if only for the conception of the senses (as in Aristotelian philosophy) as properties of the soul and not of the body. Marlowe is not consistent, in this play, in the accounts he gives of this relationship.

46–8. *The heat . . . cold*] Blood, the element which combines the properties of moisture and heat, being removed, the balance of the 'temperament' or constitution is destroyed and only the properties of cold and dryness, those of the melancholy humour in the constitution of man, and of the earth in the material universe, remain.

48. *Is*] Dyce and some subsequent editors have emended to 'Are'. There is no need for a correction; a singular verb with two cognate subjects is good Elizabethan English.

49. *talents*] tallents, the reading of O_{1-4}, is a usual spelling for 'talons'. The confusion between the two words was so general that Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost* (IV. ii. 65) puns upon it: 'If a talent be a claw, look how he claws him with a talent.'

50. *harpy*] Marlowe probably has in mind the Harpies of later mythology, winged birdlike monsters with the faces of women, who were sent to torment Phineus by seizing upon and bearing off his food before he could eat it. (Compare *Aen.*, III. 210 *seq.*; *Metam.*, VII. 4, *Fasti* VI. 132, all of which were probably familiar to Marlowe.) *tires*] is dissyllabic. (O_4 reads 'tyers'.) The term was a common one in falconry and means to seize upon and tear a prey.

All. Tamburlaine! Tamburlaine!
Tamb. Though Mars himself, the angry god of arms,
And all the earthly potentates conspire
To dispossess me of this diadem,
Yet will I wear it in despite of them,
As great commander of this eastern world,
If you but say that Tamburlaine shall reign.
All. Long live Tamburlaine, and reign in Asia!
Tamb. So; now it is more surer on my head
Than if the gods had held a parliament,
And all pronounc'd me king of Persia. [*Exeunt.*

Finis Actus 2

67. S.D.] *Add. Rob. etc.*

65. *more surer*] The double comparative is as good Elizabethan English as the double superlative in 'chiefest' noted above

ACT III

SCENE I

BAJAZETH, *the* KINGS OF FEZ, MOROCCO, *and* ARGIER, *with others, in great pomp.*

Baj. Great kings of Barbary, and my portly bassoes,
We hear the Tartars and the eastern thieves,
Under the conduct of one Tamburlaine,
Presume a bickering with your emperor,
And thinks to rouse us from our dreadful siege
Of the famous Grecian Constantinople.
You know our army is invincible;
As many circumcised Turks we have,
And warlike bands of Christians renied,
As hath the ocean or the Terrene sea

Act III. Scene i.

Fez, Morocco, and Argier] These kingdoms are all marked by Ortelius along the north coast of Africa; together they make up, as Marlowe notes, the district known generally as Barbary.

1. *portly*] See I. ii. 186 and note.

4. *bickering*] here used in the older sense of skirmish or battle, though the word also occurs among Marlowe's contemporaries in the more common modern sense of wrangling or altercation.

6. *Grecian Constantinople*] Marlowe makes little of the siege of Constantinople by Bajazet, but it occupies an important part in the writings of the historians, especially of the Byzantines. The intervention of Tīmūr, which postponed the fall of Constantinople for some 50 years, seems, according to the majority of these, to have been brought about by appeals from the Greek and neighbouring princes whom Bajazet had oppressed and who turned to Tīmūr, the emperor of the East, for protection. Marlowe, in placing the conflict with Bajazet in Tamburlaine's youth instead of at the end of his life, has necessarily modified this part of the story.

9. *Christians renied*] apostates, those who have 'renayed' (O.F. renier, pop. L. renegāre) their faith. Compare Nicholay's account of the Christians forced into the service of the Algerian Turks, III. iii. l. 55 *n.*

10. *Terrene*] frequently used by Marlowe and by Ortelius for Mediterranean. The springs or full tides, which set in with the waxing of the moon and come to their height at the full moon, do not indicate, as Marlowe suggests, a

Small drops of water when the moon begins
To join in one her semicircled horns:
Yet would we not be brav'd with foreign power,
Nor raise our siege before the Grecians yield,
Or breathless lie before the city-walls.

Fez. Renowmed emperor and mighty general,
What if you sent the bassoes of your guard
To charge him to remain in Asia,
Or else to threaten death and deadly arms
As from the mouth of mighty Bajazeth

Baj. Hie thee, my basso, fast to Persia.
Tell him thy lord, the Turkish emperor,
Dread lord of Afric, Europe and Asia,
Great king and conqueror of Græcia,
The ocean, Terrene, and the coal-black sea,
The high and highest monarch of the world,
Wills and commands (for say not I entreat),
Not once to set his foot in Africa,
Or spread his colours in Græcia,

Act III. Scene i.

21. *basso*] *Brother* O_4. 26. *highest*] *higest* O_1. 28. *Not*] *Nor* O_4. *in*] *on* O_4.

greater quantity of water in the sea but a stronger movement of the tides and a greater contrast between the levels of ebb and flow. Even so, the Mediterranean is not a good example of a sea thus influenced by the moon, as its tides are very slight.

14. *the Grecians*] here, the inhabitants of Constantinople under the Emperor Manuel Paleologus, the ruler, at the time of Bajazet's siege, of the Byzantine Empire, the surviving portion of the Eastern Roman Empire.

18–20. *To charge . . . Bajazeth*] This was in effect done by the historical Tīmūr, according to many of the accounts of his war with Bajazet. The provocative reply that Bajazet sent brought upon him the succeeding disasters.

23–6. *Dread lord . . . world*] Bajazet assumes a number of titles to which he had but a slight and nominal claim, just as the historical Bajazet seems to have embarked upon a career of deliberate aggrandisement. He was the fourth Emperor of the Turks, the son of Amurath, inheriting as the nucleus of his Empire Natolia (Anatolia or Asia Minor). His lordship over Africa consisted in a doubtful control of Egypt and of Barbary, of Europe in a footing in northern Greece and part of the area north of the Black Sea, of Asia (apart from Natolia) in a still more doubtful control of the Levant, the Persian kingdom and its adjuncts, and a territory with vague boundaries stretching back towards India.

29. *Or . . . Græcia*] This line apparently lacks a stressed syllable after 'colours', or an unstressed

Lest he incur the fury of my wrath.
Tell him I am content to take a truce,
Because I hear he bears a valiant mind;
But if, presuming on his silly power,
He be so mad to manage arms with me,
Then stay thou with him, say I bid thee so.
And if, before the sun have measur'd heaven
With triple circuit, thou regreet us not,
We mean to take his morning's next arise
For messenger he will not be reclaim'd,
And mean to fetch thee in despite of him.

Bass. Most great and puissant monarch of the earth,
Your basso will accomplish your behest,
And shew your pleasure to the Persian,
As fits the legate of the stately Turk. [*Exit Bass.*

Arg. They say he is the king of Persia;
But, if he dare attempt to stir your siege,
'Twere requisite he should be ten times more,
For all flesh quakes at your magnificence.

Baj. True, Argier, and tremble at my looks.

Mor. The spring is hindered by your smothering host;
For neither rain can fall upon the earth,
Nor sun reflex his virtuous beams thereon,
The ground is mantled with such multitudes.

Baj. All this is true as holy Mahomet;
And all the trees are blasted with our breaths.

Fez. What thinks your greatness best to be achiev'd
In pursuit of the city's overthrow?

36. *heaven*] *the heaven* O_3 O_4.

after ' in '. Cunningham suggested reading ' colours forth ', Elze ' into ' for ' in ' and Wagner ' over ' for ' in '.

33. *silly*] inexpert, untrained, as in I. ii. 47.

49. *tremble*] the reading of O_{1-4}. Dyce and many editors after him read, more grammatically, ' trembles '.

50–5. *The spring . . . breaths*] For the hyperboles indulged in by Bajazet and his followers we may compare the fabulous accounts of the armies of Xerxes with which Marlowe has already shown himself familiar. Cf. II. III. 15 and 16 and notes.

Baj. I will the captive pioners of Argier
Cut off the water that by leaden pipes
Runs to the city from the mountain Carnon;
Two thousand horse shall forage up and down,
That no relief or succour come by land,
And all the sea my galleys countermand.
Then shall our footmen lie within the trench,
And with their cannons, mouth'd like Orcus' gulf,
Batter the walls, and we will enter in;
And thus the Grecians shall be conquered. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

AGYDAS, ZENOCRATE, ANIPPE, *with others.*

Agyd. Madam Zenocrate, may I presume
To know the cause of these unquiet fits
That work such trouble to your wonted rest?
'Tis more than pity such a heavenly face
Should by heart's sorrow wax so wan and pale,

Scene ii.

1. Prefix *Agyd.*] *Rob. etc. om.* O_{1-4}.

58–67. *I will . . . conquered*] Tīmūr, in his operations against walled cities, is generally described (by those historians capable of appreciating his siege methods) as setting sappers to work upon the walls under cover of a barrage of bow-shot which prevented the besieged from interfering with their operations. *pioners*] An advance-guard of trench-diggers, etc. Cf. Moryson, *Itin.* ii. 115, 'Our pioners had been busied in fortifying and building a new Fort.'

60. *Carnon*] Miss Seaton (R.E.S) points out that the Mountain Carnon, which does not appear to be in any map, may be 'a confusion of the famous aqueduct of [Constantinople] with its equally famous Golden Horn, seeing that Carnon represents adequately the Turkish for horn' (p. 393).

63. *countermand*] control. N.E.D. cites S. Finche (1596–7), 'The inner trenches which doth countermaunde those other'

65 *Orcus'*] one of several names by which the Roman poets describe alike Pluto, the god of the underworld (equivalent to the Greek Hades) and the underworld itself; the name Orcus probably referred originally to the place of confinement. 'Orcus' gulf' is thus, to Marlowe, the mouth of hell.

Act III. Scene ii.

Agydas] has no prototype in any of the sources which Marlowe used, and is an addition, though the only one that reproduces a stock or conventional type, as Mr. L. Spense points out. (See *The Influence of Marlowe's Sources on Tamburlaine. I.*, Mod. Phil. XXIV.)

When your offensive rape by Tamburlaine
(Which of your whole displeasures should be most)
Hath seem'd to be digested long ago.

Zen. Although it be digested long ago,
As his exceeding favours have deserv'd,
And might content the Queen of Heaven, as well
As it hath chang'd my first conceiv'd disdain;
Yet since a farther passion feeds my thoughts
With ceaseless and disconsolate conceits,
Which dyes my looks so lifeless as they are,
And might, if my extremes had full events,
Make me the ghastly counterfeit of death.

Agyd. Eternal heaven sooner be dissolv'd,
And all that pierceth Phœbe's silver eye,
Before such hap fall to Zenocrate!

Zen. Ah, life and soul still hover in his breast,
And leave my body senseless as the earth,
Or else unite you to his life and soul,

14. *ceaseless*] *carelesse* O_4. 19 *Phœbe's*] *Phœbus* O_4 21 *his*] *the* O_4. 23. *you*] *me* O_3 O_4.

6. *rape*] snatching away, seizure.

9–10. *Although . . . deserv'd*] This is the first intimation the audience has had of the change in Zenocrate's feelings towards Tamburlaine. The figure of Zenocrate is substantially an addition of Marlowe's and the story of her relations with Tamburlaine is skilfully interwoven with that of his rising career, serving both to indicate the passage of time and to give variety. But Marlowe is not yet experienced enough to be able to reveal this relationship by brief passages mingled with other parts of the action, as he does the relations of Mortimer and Isabella in *Edward II*. He chooses instead the more obvious and primitive convention of a dialogue between Zenocrate and her confidant.

11. *the Queen of Heaven*] Juno, of Roman mythology.

13–17 *Yet since . . . of death*] Zenocrate's meaning is, I take it: 'Yet since then a further passion leads me to ceaseless and comfortless thoughts, which cause the lifeless looks you remark in me and might if the worst extremity came to pass, make me the very picture of death itself.' 'Conceit', in Elizabethan English had many meanings. 'Fancy' perhaps comes nearest to the sense in this line. A 'counterfeit' was normally a picture, hence, the perfect semblance or image of a thing

19. *Phœbe's*] Dyce and some subsequent editors, following O_4, read Phœbus. But the Elizabethans, no more than the moderns, associated silver with the sun. The epithet has been the prerogative of the moon in many literatures.

23. *you*] Zenocrate is invoking her own soul, begging it to remain

That I may live and die with Tamburlaine!

Enter TAMBURLAINE, *with* TECHELLES, *and others.*

Agyd. With Tamburlaine! Ah, fair Zenocrate,
Let not a man so vile and barbarous,
That holds you from your father in despite,
And keeps you from the honours of a queen,
Being supposed his worthless concubine,
Be honoured with your love but for necessity!
So now the mighty Soldan hears of you,
Your highness needs not doubt but in short time
He will, with Tamburlaine's destruction,
Redeem you from this deadly servitude.

Zen. Leave to wound me with these words,
And speak of Tamburlaine as he deserves.
The entertainment we have had of him
Is far from villany or servitude,
And might in noble minds be counted princely.

Agyd. How can you fancy one that looks so fierce,
Only disposed to martial stratagems?
Who, when he shall embrace you in his arms,
Will tell how many thousand men he slew;
And, when you look for amorous discourse,
Will rattle forth his facts of war and blood,
Too harsh a subject for your dainty ears.

Zen. As looks the sun through Nilus' flowing stream,

centred in Tamburlaine, even though by doing so it leaves her lifeless in its absence. Better still, she adds, and a solution of the conflict, would be a complete union with his life and soul.

35. Dyce and most subsequent editors supply the name 'Agydas' which in the octavos has probably dropped out at the beginning of the line.

38. *villany*] has here either the sense of discourtesy or the more emphatic sense of dishonour, injury. It is not easy to judge from the context which connotation Marlowe has in mind.

40. *fancy*] in its earlier meaning often had a stronger sense than the modern somewhat debased phrase. The N.E.D. compares Shakespeare (*Twelfth Night*, II. v. 29), 'Should shee fancie, it should bee one of my complection' where, as in Marlowe's line, the phrase has the force of 'fall in love with'.

45. *facts*] here in the original sense of deeds, feats. Compare *Macbeth*, III. vi. 10. 'Damned fact!'

Or when the Morning holds him in her arms,
So looks my lordly love, fair Tamburlaine;
His talk much sweeter than the Muses' song
They sung for honour 'gainst Pierides,
Or when Minerva did with Neptune strive;
And higher would I rear my estimate
Than Juno, sister to the highest god,
If I were matched with mighty Tamburlaine.

Agyd. Yet be not so inconstant in your love,
But let the young Arabian live in hope,
After your rescue to enjoy his choice.
You see, though first the king of Persia,
Being a shepherd, seem'd to love you much,
Now, in his majesty, he leaves those looks,
Those words of favour, and those comfortings,
And gives no more than common courtesies.

Zen. Thence rise the tears that so distain my cheeks,
Fearing his love through my unworthiness.

Tamburlaine goes to her, and takes her away lovingly by the hand, looking wrathfully on Agydas, and says nothing. Exeunt all except Agydas.

Agyd. Betrayed by fortune and suspicious love,
Threatened with frowning wrath and jealousy,
Surpris'd with fear of hideous revenge,
I stand aghast; but most astonied
To see his choler shut in secret thoughts,

50. *much*] *more* O_4. 58. *enjoy*] *eioy* O_1 *inioy* O_2 O_4. 65. S.D. *Exeunt . . . Agydas*] *Add. Dyce.* 68. *of*] *and* O_2.

50–1. *the Muses' song . . . Pierides*] The nine daughters of Pierus, king of Emathia, contested with the Muses and were transformed into birds after their defeat. This story, like that referred to in the following lines, the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the government of Athens, probably reached Marlowe through Ovid's account (*Metam.*, v. 302 *seq.*).

65. *Fearing his love*] Fearing for his love; fearing lest it should fail, through my unworthiness.

70–87. *To see his choler . . . her overthrow*] This picture of the wrath of Tamburlaine and of the terror it struck into its victim is generally reminiscent of the episode described, by Mexia, Perondinus and three or four other historians, of the merchant of Genoa who

And wrapt in silence of his angry soul.
Upon his brows was pourtrayed ugly death,
And in his eyes the fury of his heart,
That shine as comets, menacing revenge,
And casts a pale complexion on his cheeks.
As when the seaman sees the Hyades
Gather an army of Cimmerian clouds,
(Auster and Aquilon with winged steeds,
All sweating, tilt about the watery heavens,
With shivering spears enforcing thunderclaps,
And from their shields strike flames of lightning)
All fearful folds his sails and sounds the main,
Lifting his prayers to the heavens for aid
Against the terror of the winds and waves;
So fares Agydas for the late felt frowns,
That sent a tempest to my daunted thoughts,
And makes my soul divine her overthrow.

Enter TECHELLES *with a naked dagger, and* USUMCASANE.

Tech. See you, Agydas, how the king salutes you.
He bids you prophesy what it imports.

73. *fury*] *furies* O_2 87. S.D. *and Usumcasane*] *Add. Dyce.* 89 S.D.] *Exit.* Add. O_1 O_2.

opposed Tamburlaine and provoked the famous words '[I am] the wrath and vengeaunce of God . . .' (See Appendix C.)

76. *the Hyades*] a group of seven stars, which, if they rose simultaneously with the sun, were believed to bring rain (cf. Tennyson, *Ulysses*, 10–11, 'the rainy Hyades | Vext the dim sea. . . .')

77. *Cimmerian*] black, as generally with Marlowe.

78. *Auster and Aquilon*] The south-west and north winds brought at certain seasons fogs and rain. The description of their conflict and the thunder and lightning produced by it seems to have no parallel in classical literature, though Ovid describes the conflict of Auster and Aquilo ('victoque aquilonibus austro', *Metam.*, v. 285) and Lucretius, whose work was also probably well known to Marlowe, gives a scientific description of thunder as caused by the collision of clouds when the winds (no specific winds are named) fight (*De Rer. Nat.*, VI 95 *seq.*) Marlowe has perhaps combined two passages with which he was familiar D C Allen would derive Marlowe's image from pictorial cartography rather than from Ovid or Lucretius.

88. *Enter . . . Usumcasane*] There is some discrepancy in the original versions here. O_1 O_2 have the S.D. 'Exit', (l. 89) which would take Techelles off the stage during Agydas's speech and require another S.D. for his entry at or before l. 107. The S.D. at l. 89 is omitted altogether by O_3 O_4, which would mean that Usumcasane and Techelles

Agyd. I prophesied before and now I prove
The killing frowns of jealousy and love.
He needed not with words confirm my fear,
For words are vain where working tools present
The naked action of my threatened end.
It says, Agydas, thou shalt surely die.
And of extremities elect the least;
More honour and less pain it may procure
To die by this resolved hand of thine,
Than stay the torments he and heaven have sworn.
Then haste, Agydas, and prevent the plagues
Which thy prolonged fates may draw on thee;
Go wander free from fear of tyrant's rage,
Removed from the torments and the hell
Wherewith he may excruciate thy soul;
And let Agydas by Agydas die,
And with this stab slumber eternally. [*Stabs himself.*

Tech. Usumcasane, see how right the man
Hath hit the meaning of my lord the king!

Usum. Faith, and, Techelles, it was manly done;
And, since he was so wise and honourable,
Let us afford him now the bearing hence,
And crave his triple worthy burial.

Tech. Agreed, Casane; we will honour him.
[*Exeunt, bearing out the body.*

106. S.D.] *om.* O_{1-3}. 113. S.D.] *Add. Dyce.*

presumably withdraw to the back of the stage while Agydas makes his final speech and stabs himself.

96. Tilley and Ray point out that there is a larger proportion of proverbial material (quotation or adaptation) than has generally been recognized in the writing of Marlowe. In addition to some seven already recognized, they add more than thirty, of which five are to be found in *Tamburlaine*. Though certain of those they detect are not in Apperson, the source of l. 96 above ('of two evils choose the least') is recorded there. (App. 654.) (See also notes to II *Tamb.* III. i. 28–31; III. ii. 107–8; V. iii. 64–5, and 238–9.)

99. *stay*] as often, await, stay for.

102. *Go . . . rage*] This somewhat misplaced echo of a common stoic sentiment comes in abruptly and slightly confuses the direction of the emotion. In its present form it recalls Seneca: 'Prima huius notae sunt hostium manibus eripi et tyrannicae irae et proscriptioni et aliis periculis' (*De Ben.*, I. ii. 2).

SCENE III

TAMBURLAINE, TECHELLES, USUMCASANE, THERIDAMAS, BASSO, ZENOCRATE, *with others.*

Tamb. Basso, by this thy lord and master knows
I mean to meet him in Bithynia:
See how he comes! tush, Turks are full of brags
And menace more than they can well perform.
He meet me in the field and fetch thee hence!
Alas, poor Turk! his fortune is too weak
T' encounter with the strength of Tamburlaine.
View well my camp, and speak indifferently;
Do not my captains and my soldiers look
As if they meant to conquer Africa?
Bas. Your men are valiant, but their number few,
And cannot terrify his mighty host;
My lord, the great commander of the world,
Besides fifteen contributory kings,
Hath now in arms ten thousand janizaries,

Scene iii.

4. *menace*] *meane* O_4.

Scene iii.

1. *Basso*] Upon the position and duties of the Basso (Bashaw), the Pasha, or Captain of the Janissaries, Nicholas Nicholay gives some detailed information in his *Navigations* . . ., Bk. III, chaps. iii–vi, which Marlowe probably knew.

2. *Bithynia*] The battle between Tamburlaine and Bajazet is variously placed by the historians of the sixteenth century. Newton puts it 'in Bithynia' and further specifies 'near to Mount Stella' (see Appendix D), as do also Cuspinian, Perondinus, Granucci; Mexia puts it on the confines of Armenia, an alternative also mentioned by Cuspinian and Perondinus; the Byzantines incline to Phrygia. Marlowe takes full advantage of this uncertainty and leaves the actual site of so well known an historical event vague. That this caution was deliberate on Marlowe's part, there is no doubt (see Seaton, *Marlowe's Map*, p. 27); he is specific enough in geographical details when he is not treating matter of historical fact.

3–4. *Turks . . . perform*] Marlowe emphasizes the braggart in Bajazet even more than do most of the sources, who generally describe Bajazet as defying his enemy in exultant terms, but able and prepared to make good his defiance.

11. *their number few*] A deliberate departure from the records. Marlowe wishes to emphasize the valour of Tamburlaine and must do it at the expense of the Turkish army. (See *Introduction* and Appendix C.)

Mounted on lusty Mauritanian steeds,
Brought to the war by men of Tripoly;
Two hundred thousand footmen that have serv'd
In two set battles fought in Græcia;
And for the expedition of this war,
If he think good, can from his garrisons
Withdraw as many more to follow him.

Tech. The more he brings, the greater is the spoil;
For, when they perish by our warlike hands,
We mean to seat our footmen on their steeds,
And rifle all those stately janizars.

Tamb. But will those kings accompany your lord?

Bas. Such as his highness please; but some must stay
To rule the provinces he late subdued.

Tamb. Then fight courageously; their crowns are yours,
This hand shall set them on your conquering heads
That made me emperor of Asia.

Usum. Let him bring millions infinite of men,
Unpeopling Western Africa and Greece,
Yet we assure us of the victory.

Ther. Even he, that in a trice vanquished two kings
More mighty than the Turkish emperor,
Shall rouse him out of Europe, and pursue
His scattered army till they yield or die.

Tamb. Well said, Theridamas! speak in that mood;
For Will and Shall best fitteth Tamburlaine,
Whose smiling stars gives him assured hope
Of martial triumph ere he meet his foes.
I that am term'd the Scourge and Wrath of God,

25. *seat*] *set* O_2. 42. *gives*] *give* O_2.

16. *Mauritania*] A district of North-west Africa, sometimes regarded as including Numidia, famous for its horses and horsemen. Tripoly is further east, on the coast of Barbary.

19. *Græcia*] The invasion of Greece by Bajazet had taken place before the siege of Constantinople, from which he was turned aside by Tamburlaine's attack. The two provinces referred to by the Basso are coupled in Usumcasane's words (l. 34) 'unpeopling Western Africa and Greece'.

44. *I that . . . God*] Such a phrase

The only fear and terror of the world,
Will first subdue the Turk, and then enlarge
Those Christian captives which you keep as slaves,
Burdening their bodies with your heavy chains,
And feeding them with thin and slender fare,
That naked row about the Terrene sea,
And, when they chance to breathe and rest a space,
Are punished with bastones so grievously
That they lie panting on the galley's side,
And strive for life at every stroke they give.
These are the cruel pirates of Argier,
That damned train, the scum of Africa,
Inhabited with straggling runagates,
That make quick havoc of the Christian blood.
But, as I live, that town shall curse the time
That Tamburlaine set foot in Africa.

51. *breathe and rest*] *rest or breathe* O_2. 53. *they*] *om.* O_4.

as this is attributed to Tamburlaine by several of the historians whom Marlowe had studied, chief among them Mexia and Perondinus, though generally in a form more like that of Fortescue (see Appendix C): 'the wrath (or vengeance) of God and the destruction of the world.' Perondinus gives it the form 'Memento me, ait, Dei maximi iram esse, atque depravati saeculi funestam cladem' (*Per.*, Cap. xix).

52. *bastones*] (scanned as dissyllabic) a stick or cudgel. Compare mod. F. bâton and see Nicholas Nicholay's account (note to l. 55) where the word 'staves' is used.

55. *pirates of Argier*] On the pirates of Algeria Nicholas Nicholay has an interesting comment. Some of his phrases seem to have found their way into Marlowe's play: 'The most part of the *Turks* of *Algier*, whether they be of the king's household or the gallies, are *Christians* renied, or *Mahomatised*, of all nations, but most of them *Spaniards*, *Italians* and of *Provence*, of the islands and coasts of the *Mediteranean Sea*, given all to whoredom, sodomy, theft, and all other most detestable vices, living only on rovings, spoils, and pillaging at the seas and islands being about them; and with their practic art bring daily to *Algier* a great number of poor *Christians*, which they sell unto the *Moors*, and other merchants of *Barbary*, for slaves, who afterwards transport them and sell them where they think good, or else beating them miserably with staves, do employ and constrain them to work in the fields, and all other vile and abject occupations and servitude almost intolerable.' (*A Collection of Voyages*, ed. 1745 (No. x), p. 560.)

57. *runagates*] vagabonds, deserters, or, more specifically, apostates (perhaps by association with 'renegade'). In view of Nicholay's account quoted above the latter seems the most probable meaning here.

Enter BAJAZETH *with his Bassoes and contributory Kings.* ZABINA *and* EBEA.

Baj. Bassoes and janizaries of my guard,
Attend upon the person of your lord,
The greatest potentate of Africa.
Tamb. Techelles and the rest, prepare your swords;
I mean t' encounter with that Bajazeth.
Baj. Kings of Fesse, Moroccus, and Argier,
He calls me Bajazeth, whom you call lord!
Note the presumption of this Scythian slave!
I tell thee, villain, those that lead my horse
Have to their names titles of dignity;
And dar'st thou bluntly call me Bajazeth?
Tamb. And know thou, Turk, that those which lead my horse
Shall lead thee captive thorough Africa;
And dar'st thou bluntly call me Tamburlaine?
Baj. By Mahomet my kinsman's sepulchre,
And by the holy Alcaron I swear,
He shall be made a chaste and lustless eunuch,
And in my sarell tend my concubines;
And all his captains, that thus stoutly stand,
Shall draw the chariot of my emperess,
Whom I have brought to see their overthrow.
Tamb. By this my sword that conquer'd Persia,
Thy fall shall make me famous through the world!

60. S.D.*contributory*] *his contributory* O_3 O_4. 65. *t' encounter*] *t' incounter* O_1. *to incounter* O_2. 70. *titles*] *title* O_3 O_4.

66. *Fesse, Moroccus*] These forms are regular in Elizabethan English and interchangeable with Fez, Morocco. The three kingdoms between them comprise the whole stretch of the north African coast under the suzerainty of Bajazet.

74. *call me Tamburlaine*] It may be remarked that Bajazet has not yet spoken to Tamburlaine by name so that the retort is pointless. Possibly this indicates some contracting or expanding of the original text either in the playhouse or in the preparing of the printed text. (See R. J. 'To the Gentleman Readers . . .' and the notes.)

76. *Alcaron*] appears to be a form preferred by Marlowe (or by the printer) and by some of his contemporaries. It occurs also in Part II, I. ii. 61 and V. i. 172, 192.

78. *sarell*] (more familiar to modern readers through the Italian form 'seraglio'), the women's quarters in a Mahometan house.

I will not tell thee how I'll handle thee,
But every common soldier of my camp
Shall smile to see thy miserable state.
Fez. What means the mighty Turkish emperor,
To talk with one so base as Tamburlaine?
Morocco. Ye Moors and valiant men of Barbary,
How can ye suffer these indignities?
Arg. Leave words, and let them feel your lances' points,
Which glided through the bowels of the Greeks.
Baj. Well said, my stout contributory kings!
Your threefold army and my hugy host
Shall swallow up these base born Persians.
Tech. Puissant, renowmed, and mighty Tamburlaine,
Why stay we thus prolonging all their lives?
Ther. I long to see those crowns won by our swords,
That we may reign as kings of Africa.
Usum. What coward would not fight for such a prize?
Tamb. Fight all courageously, and be you kings:
I speak it, and my words are oracles.
Baj. Zabina, mother of three braver boys
Than Hercules, that in his infancy
Did pash the jaws of serpents venomous,
Whose hands are made to gripe a warlike lance,
Their shoulders broad for complete armour fit,

84. *I'll*] *I will(l)* O_3O_4. 87. *the*] *this* O_4. 90. *ye*] *you* O_4. 97 *all*] *of* O_3. 99. *reign*] *rule* O_3. 103. *braver*] *brave* O_4.

84. *I will . . . thee*] Tamburlaine's imagination fails him—as it well may. It is hardly necessary to point out that this undignified dialogue is without a close parallel in most of Marlowe's sources. There is, in many, an exchange of letters containing threats and veiled insults, but the theatrically effective situation in which the leaders exchange vituperation on the battlefield and their Queens continue the strife of words during the battle is unknown to history.

94. *hugy*] huge.

104. *Hercules*] The life and exploits of Hercules were a commonplace of Elizabethan allusion. Marlowe may have found the source for his numerous references in Ovid, *Metam.* IX (especially 182 ff. and 136 ff.). There is a brief reference to this episode in *Metam.* IX, 67, but the fuller accounts depend upon Pindar (*Nem.* I.) and Theocritus (XXIV.), neither of which writers was, I think, known to Marlowe.

105. *pash*] A common onomatopœic word: to dash to pieces, to smash.

Their limbs more large and of a bigger size
Than all the brats y-sprung from Typhon's loins;
Who, when they come unto their father's age,
Will batter turrets with their manly fists—
Sit here upon this royal chair of state,
And on thy head wear my imperial crown,
Until I bring this sturdy Tamburlaine
And all his captains bound in captive chains.

Zab. Such good success happen to Bajazeth!

Tamb. Zenocrate, the loveliest maid alive,
Fairer than rocks of pearl and precious stone,
The only paragon of Tamburlaine;
Whose eyes are brighter than the lamps of heaven,
And speech more pleasant than sweet harmony;
That with thy looks canst clear the darkened sky,
And calm the rage of thundering Jupiter;
Sit down by her, adorned with my crown,
As if thou wert the empress of the world.
Stir not, Zenocrate, until thou see
Me march victoriously with all my men,
Triumphing over him and these his kings,
Which I will bring as vassals to thy feet;
Till then, take thou my crown, vaunt of my worth,
And manage words with her, as we will arms.

Zeno. And may my love, the king of Persia,
Return with victory and free from wound!

Baj. Now shalt thou feel the force of Turkish arms,
Which lately made all Europe quake for fear.
I have of Turks, Arabians, Moors and Jews,
Enough to cover all Bithynia.

109. *Typhon's*] *Tryphons* O_4.

109. *y-sprung*] Archaic forms such as this are rare in Marlowe's writing. The reference is to Hesiod's account (*Theog.* 306 ff.) of Typhaon (often confused later with Typhoeus, the father of the winds), whose children were the monsters Orthus, Cerberus, the Lernaean hydra, Chimaera and the Sphynx, though it is perhaps unlikely that Marlowe derived it from Hesiod himself.

131. *manage.*] See II. v. iii. 36 and note.

Let thousands die: their slaughtered carcasses
Shall serve for walls and bulwarks to the rest;
And as the heads of Hydra, so my power,
Subdued, shall stand as mighty as before.
If they should yield their necks unto the sword,
Thy soldiers' arms could not endure to strike
So many blows as I have heads for thee.
Thou knowest not, foolish-hardy Tamburlaine,
What 'tis to meet me in the open field,
That leave no ground for thee to march upon.
Tamb. Our conquering swords shall marshal us the way
We use to march upon the slaughtered foe,
Trampling their bowels with our horses' hoofs,
Brave horses bred on the white Tartarian hills.
My camp is like to Julius Cæsar's host,
That never fought but had the victory;
Nor in Pharsalia was there such hot war
As these my followers willingly would have.
Legions of spirits fleeting in the air
Direct our bullets and our weapons' points
And make our strokes to wound the senseless lure;
And when she sees our bloody colours spread,
Then Victory begins to take her flight,
Resting herself upon my milk-white tent.
But come, my lords, to weapons let us fall;
The field is ours, the Turk, his wife and all.

[*Exit with his followers.*

142. *they*] *they they* O_3. *yield*] *yælde* O_3. 158. *lure*] *lute* O_3.

140. *Hydra.*] See note to l. 109.

148. *Our . . . way*] Compare Shakespeare's almost identical use of the metaphor: *Macbeth*, II. i. 42: 'Thou marshall'st me the way that I was going.'

154. *Pharsalia*] It may be recalled that Marlowe's blank verse translation of part of the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia* belongs to the early period of his career, probably slightly earlier than *Tamburlaine* and contemporaneous with his translation of the Elegies of Ovid.

158. *lure*] This passage appears to be hopelessly corrupt. The relatively less unsatisfactory reading of O_1 O_3 O_4 has been retained here, though it is difficult to believe that it represents the original. Dyce's conjecture 'air' is substituted in most modern reprints, and is rather more probable than 'light' (Rob.) 'wind' (Cunn.) or 'winds' (Wag.). For a recent attempt to defend 'lure', see J. G. Flynn (T.L.S., Jy. 18, 1935).

Baj. Come, kings and bassoes, let us glut our swords
That thirst to drink the feeble Persians' blood.
[*Exit with his followers.*

Zab. Base concubine, must thou be plac'd by me
That am the empress of the mighty Turk?

Zeno. Disdainful Turkess, and unreverend boss,
Call'st thou me concubine, that am betroth'd
Unto the great and mighty Tamburlaine?

Zab. To Tamburlaine, the great Tartarian thief!

Zeno. Thou wilt repent these lavish words of thine
When thy great basso master and thyself
Must plead for mercy at his kingly feet,
And sue to me to be your advocates.

Zab. And sue to thee! I tell thee, shameless girl,
Thou shalt be laundress to my waiting maid.
How lik'st thou her, Ebea? will she serve?

Ebea. Madam, she thinks perhaps she is too fine;
But I shall turn her into other weeds,
And make her dainty fingers fall to work.

Zeno. Hearst thou, Anippe, how thy drudge doth talk,
And how my slave, her mistress, menaceth?
Both for their sauciness shall be employed
To dress the common soldiers' meat and drink;
For we will scorn they should come near ourselves.

Anip. Yet sometimes let your highness send for them

173. *basso master*] *Bassoe, maister* O_1. *Bassoe-maister* O_{2-4}. 175. *advocates*] *Advocate* O_3 O_4. 180. *weeds*] *weed* O_3. 181. *In* O_4 *this and the following line are repeated, once at the bottom of Sig. F. and again at the top of Sig.* F_v. *The catchword for l.* 183, *'And', was perhaps confused with the first word of l.* 181.

165. *feeble Persians' blood*] Tamburlaine and his generals have become identified in Bajazet's mind with the Persians, of whom they are now the rulers and governors.

168. *boss*] Mitford would have emended to 'Bassa', but there is something to be said for retaining 'Bosse'. See N.E.D. (s.v.) which cites Sherwood, s.v.: 'A fatt Bosse, *femme bien grasse et grosse.*'

175. *advocates*] As Wagner points out, this may be regarded as a feminine, 'advocatess', though only one other doubtful instance is given in the N.E.D.

185. *To dress . . . drink*] This was, in fact, the fate assigned to Bajazet's empress by Perondinus and others. See Appendix D3 and notes.

To do the work my chambermaid disdains.

[*They sound to the battle within and stay.*

Zeno. Ye gods and powers that govern Persia,
And made my lordly love her worthy king,
Now strengthen him against the Turkish Bajazeth,
And let his foes, like flocks of fearful roes
Pursued by hunters, fly his angry looks,
That I may see him issue conqueror!

Zab. Now, Mahomet, solicit God himself,
And make him rain down murdering shot from heaven,
To dash the Scythians' brains, and strike them dead,
That dare to manage arms with him
That offered jewels to thy sacred shrine
When first he warr'd against the Christians!

[*To the battle again.*

Zeno. By this the Turks lie weltring in their blood,
And Tamburlaine is lord of Africa.

Zab. Thou art deceiv'd. I heard the trumpets sound
As when my emperor overthrew the Greeks,
And led them captive into Africa.
Straight will I use thee as thy pride deserves;
Prepare thyself to live and die my slave.

Zeno. If Mahomet should come from heaven and swear
My royal lord is slain or conquered,
Yet should he not persuade me otherwise
But that he lives and will be conqueror.

[BAJAZETH *flies and he pursues him. The battle short and they enter.* BAJAZETH *is overcome.*

Tamb. Now, king of bassoes, who is conqueror?

196. *murdering*] *murthering* O_1 O_2. 202. *And*] *as* O_4. 204. *As*] *and* O_4. 211. S.D. *battle short*] *battle is short* O_3 O_4.

199. *thy sacred shrine*] Most of the historians agree in describing Bajazet as the zealous champion of Islam against Christendom. According to the Byzantine accounts, Tamburlaine, himself a devout Mahometan, long refrained from crushing him on account of this virtue.

Baj. Thou, by the fortune of this damned foil
Tamb. Where are your stout contributory kings?

Enter TECHELLES, THERIDAMAS, *and* USUMCASANE.

Tech. We have their crowns; their bodies strow the field.
Tamb. Each man a crown! why, kingly fought, i'faith.
Deliver them into my treasury.
Zeno. Now let me offer to my gracious lord
His royal crown again so highly won.
Tamb. Nay, take the Turkish crown from her, Zenocrate,
And crown me emperor of Africa.
Zab. No, Tamburlaine; though now thou gat the best,
Thou shalt not yet be lord of Africa.
Ther. Give her the crown, Turkess, you were best.
[*He takes it from her, and gives it Zenocrate.*
Zab. Injurious villains, thieves, runagates,
How dare you thus abuse my majesty?
Ther. Here, madam, you are empress; she is none.
Tamb. Not now, Theridamas; her time is past:
The pillars that have bolstered up those terms
Are faln in clusters at my conquering feet.
Zab. Though he be prisoner, he may be ransom'd.
Tamb. Not all the world shall ransom Bajazeth.
Baj. Ah, fair Zabina, we have lost the field;
And never had the Turkish emperor
So great a foil by any foreign foe.
Now will the Christian miscreants be glad,

213. *foil*] *Conj. Dyce etc.* *soile* O_1 O_2. *soyle* O_3 O_4. 220. *Zenocrate*] *Zen.* O_1 O_2. *Zeno-crate* O_3O_4 (*line division*). 234. *In* O_4 *this line stands before l.* 233 *and is given to Tamburlaine.*

213. *foil*] (conj. Dyce) is an almost irresistible emendation for soile (soyle) of the four early texts. The error of substituting a long 's' for an 'f' is repeated more than once in this play, though this is the only case in which it occurs in O_1.

215–27. *We have . . . is none*] The puerility of these lines makes it difficult to believe that they are not a survival of the 'fond and frivolous gestures' which Jones did his best to omit. They bear a similar æsthetic relation to the context as do the frivolities written into *Faustus*.

225. *runagates*] See note to l. 57 above.

Ringing with joy their superstitious bells,
And making bonfires for my overthrow:
But, ere I die, those foul idolaters
Shall make me bonfires with their filthy bones;
For, though the glory of this day be lost,
Afric and Greece have garrisons enough
To make me sovereign of the earth again.

Tamb. Those walled garrisons will I subdue,
And write myself great lord of Africa.
So from the East unto the furthest West
Shall Tamburlaine extend his puissant arm.
The galleys and those pilling brigandines,
That yearly sail to the Venetian gulf,
And hover in the straits for Christians' wreck,
Shall lie at anchor in the Isle Asant,
Until the Persian fleet and men-of-war,
Sailing along the oriental sea,
Have fetched about the Indian continent,
Even from Persepolis to Mexico,
And thence unto the Straits of Jubalter,
Where they shall meet and join their force in one,
Keeping in awe the Bay of Portingale,
And all the ocean by the British shore;
And by this means I'll win the world at last.

246. *furthest*] *farthest* O_4. 259. *British*] *Brittish* O_3 O_4 *brightest* O_2.

242. *Afric and Greece*] Bajazet's constant references to the provinces of Africa and Greece and his dependence upon them for his recovery are explained when we remember that it was in Natolia, at the heart of the Turkish empire, that this battle had been fought.

248. *galleys . . . brigandines*] For descriptions of the Turkish pirates of the Mediterranean, Marlowe may, as has been noted, be indebted to Nicholas Nicholay. (See I. III. iii. 55 and note.)

251. *Asant*] generally interpreted as Zante, a large island off the coast of Achaia, so named by the ancients and by Ortelius: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (*Graecia*).

252. *Persian fleet*] Tamburlaine's Persian fleet is to follow approximately the route of the Portuguese and Italian traders from Ormuz to southern China. He then sees them strike across the Pacific to the western coast of Mexico and appears to anticipate the Panama canal, bringing them straight through the isthmus to Gibraltar, where they are to be joined by the Mediterranean fleet and control the shipping in Biscay and the Channel.

Baj. Yet set a ransom on me, Tamburlaine.

Tamb. What, thinkst thou Tamburlaine esteems thy gold?
I'll make the kings of India, ere I die,
Offer their mines, to sue for peace, to me,
And dig for treasure to appease my wrath.
Come, bind them both, and one lead in the Turk;
The Turkess let my love's maid lead away.
[*They bind them.*

Baj. Ah, villains, dare ye touch my sacred arms?
O Mahomet! O sleepy Mahomet!

Zab. O cursed Mahomet, that makest us thus
The slaves to Scythians rude and barbarous!

Tamb. Come, bring them in; and for this happy conquest
Triumph and solemnise a martial feast. [*Exeunt.*

Finis Actus Tertii.

268. *ye*] *you* O_2. 270. *makest*] *makst* O_3 *makes* O_4. 273. *martial*] *materiall* O_4.

263. *kings of India*] Tīmūr actually invaded and subdued a great part of Northern India about the year 1395, but this, though recorded by most of the oriental historians and by Schiltberger, does not appear in any of the European biographers Marlowe appears to have studied.

ACT IV

SCENE I

SOLDAN OF EGYPT *with three or four* Lords, CAPOLIN.

Sold. Awake, ye men of Memphis! hear the clang
Of Scythian trumpets; hear the basilisks,
That roaring shake Damascus' turrets down.
The rogue of Volga holds Zenocrate,
The Soldan's daughter, for his concubine,
And with a troop of thieves and vagabonds,
Hath spread his colours to our high disgrace,
While you faint-hearted, base Egyptians,
Lie slumbering on the flowery banks of Nile,
As crocodiles that unaffrighted rest
While thundering cannons rattle on their skins.
Mess. Nay, mighty Soldan, did your greatness see
The frowning looks of fiery Tamburlaine,
That with his terror and imperious eyes
Commands the hearts of his associates,

Act IV. Scene i.

2. *basilisks*] pieces of ordnance, cannons. Marlowe uses the term also in the *Jew of Malta*, 'Our bombards, shot and basilisk' (l. 2228).

3. *Damascus*] The siege of Damascus by Tamburlaine is described in detail by nearly all the historians. Historically, it appears to have occurred before the defeat of Bajazet and to have formed an episode in Tīmūr's march to Angora. Most of the accounts describe also the remarkable siege operations by which Tīmūr subdued this hitherto impregnable town.

4. *Volga*] Marlowe's references suggest that he associates Tamburlaine with the district north and west of the Caspian Sea, though at other times he follows the tradition which makes him a native of Samarcand or its neighbourhood.

10. *crocodiles*] were to the Elizabethans strictly natives of the Nile. Their fabulous powers and strange habits are frequently described, and the credulity which the Elizabethans accorded to these tales is satirically touched on by Anthony (*Ant. and Cleop.*, II. vii).

It might amaze your royal majesty.
Sold. Villain, I tell thee, were that Tamburlaine
As monstrous as Gorgon prince of hell,
The Soldan would not start a foot from him.
But speak, what power hath he?
Mess. Mighty lord,
Three hundred thousand men in armour clad,
Upon their prancing steeds, disdainfully
With wanton paces trampling on the ground;
Five hundred thousand footmen threatening shot,
Shaking their swords, their spears and iron bills,
Environing their standard round, that stood
As bristle-pointed as a thorny wood;
Their warlike engines and munition
Exceed the forces of their martial men.
Sold. Nay, could their numbers countervail the stars,
Or ever drizzling drops of April showers,
Or withered leaves that autumn shaketh down,
Yet would the Soldan by his conquering power
So scatter and consume them in his rage,
That not a man should live to rue their fall.
Capo. So might your highness, had you time to sort
Your fighting men, and raise your royal host.
But Tamburlaine by expedition
Advantages [illegible]akes of your unreadiness.
Sold. Let him take all th' advantages he can.
Were all the world conspir'd to fight for him,

Act IV. Scene i.

32. *ever drizzling*] *drisling* O_2. 36. *should*] *shal* O_2. 41. *th' advantages*] *the advantages* O_4.

18. *monstrous*] abnormal, unnatural. Cf. Chapman, *Odyss.*, ix. 268, 'A man in shape, immane and monsterous.' *Gorgon*] an abbreviated form of Demogorgon, a potentate of hell of obscure and possibly Egyptian origin. Faustus couples his name with that of Belzibub in his invocation (*Faustus*, 252), and it is perhaps worth remark that one of the few early references to this mysterious deity occurs in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (VI. 744–9), a work of which Marlowe had already made a partial translation.

31. *countervail*] equal or match in number. The N.E.D. cites no instance exactly parallel to this.

Nay, were he devil, as he is no man,
Yet in revenge of fair Zenocratē,
Whom he detaineth in despite of us,
This arm should send him down to Erebus,
To shroud his shame in darkness of the night.
Mess. Pleaseth your mightiness to understand,
His resolution far exceedeth all.
The first day when he pitcheth down his tents,
White is their hue, and on his silver crest,
A snowy feather spangled white he bears,
To signify the mildness of his mind,
That, satiate with spoil, refuseth blood:
But when Aurora mounts the second time,
As red as scarlet is his furniture;
Then must his kindled wrath be quenched with blood,
Not sparing any that can manage arms:
But if these threats move not submission,
Black are his colours, black pavilion;
His spear, his shield, his horse, his armour, plumes,
And jetty feathers menace death and hell;
Without respect of sex, degree, or age,
He razeth all his foes with fire and sword.

43. *devil*] *the devill* O_4 *Deul* O_2. 47. *darkness*] *darkesse* O_2. 51. *White*] *While* O_4.

46. *Erebus*] The name of the son of Chaos came in classical mythology to signify darkness and particularly the gloomy space between the earth and Hades.

50 etc. *The first day . . . tents*] The messenger's rhetorical description of the tents of Tamburlaine has its counterpart in nearly every later European historian who wrote at any length, but does not appear in the records of Schiltberger, Clavijo, the oriental historians or the Byzantines. It is a late European fiction difficult to trace to its source. The earliest record so far reported is that of Crinitus, discovered by D. C. Allen in 1931. I presume the origin of the myth to be a European misinterpretation of some d[illegible] by an eye-witness of th[illegible]ured tents of the Tartar [illegible]ities. The details are strictly followed by each writer, with a few differences of phrasing, until we come to Fortescue who boldly transforms them into 'ensigns', a fact which leads Izard to regard Whetstone's *English Myrror* as the immediate source of *Tamburlaine*. (See also Preface and Appendix C and notes.) Marlowe has added the details of Tamburlaine's plume and 'furniture'.

56. *furniture*] Tamburlaine's tent, accoutrements and dress. The use of the word in any or all of these senses was common in the late sixteenth century.

Sold. Merciless villain, peasant, ignorant
Of lawful arms or martial discipline,
Pillage and murder are his usual trades,
The slave usurps the glorious name of war!
See Capolin, the fair Arabian king,
That hath been disappointed by this slave
Of my fair daughter and his princely love,
May have fresh warning to go war with us,
And be reveng'd for her disparagement. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

TAMBURLAINE, TECHELLES, THERIDAMAS, USUMCASANE, ZENOCRATE, ANIPPE, *two* Moors *drawing* BAJAZETH *in his cage, and his wife following him.*

Tamb. Bring out my footstool.

[*They take him out of the cage.*

Baj. Ye holy priests of heavenly Mahomet,
That, sacrificing, slice and cut your flesh,

73. *disparagement*] *dispardgement* O_1O_2. S.D.] *Add. Dyce.*

69. *Arabian king*] Most of Tamburlaine's western biographers mention the [illegible] Egypt or Arabia or [illegible] and those deriving [illegible]s Primaudaye, bri[illegible] Arabia into alliance [illegible] does here. Hallett Sm[illegible] refers us to Le Roy (fol. 187).

Scene ii.

1. *Bring out my footstool*] Tamburlaine's treatment of Bajazet follows closely the accounts given by Perondinus and Mexia. (See *Introduction* and Appendix C and notes.) Sir Walter Ralegh, writing some quarter of a century later upon the vicissitudes of fortune, recalls this scene from the play which had been popular in his youth: '. . . God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play . and hath not, in their distribution, beene partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; . . . that appointed *Bajazet* to play the *Gran Signior* of the *Turkes* in the morning, and in the same day the *Footstoole* of *Tamerlane* (both which parts [illegible]ian had also playd, beeing [illegible] by *Sapores*). . . .' (*The History of the World: The Preface*, ed. 1829, vol. II, p. xlii.)

2 *seq.* *Ye holy priests . . . blood*] Marlowe may have drawn his accounts of Mahometan rites from any one of several popular volumes, many of which combined with their accounts of the customs of the Turks a short history of the Turkish empire, in which the life of Bajazet appeared. This passage can be paralleled, as Miss Seaton points out (*R.E.S.*, p. 396), with a description in Belleforest's *Cos-*

Staining his altars with your purple blood,
Make heaven to frown and every fixed star
To suck up poison from the moorish fens,
And pour it in this glorious tyrant's throat!

Tamb. The chiefest God, first mover of that sphere
Enchas'd with thousands ever shining lamps,
Will sooner burn the glorious frame of heaven
Than it should so conspire my overthrow.
But, villain, thou that wishest this to me,
Fall prostrate on the low disdainful earth,
And be the footstool of great Tamburlaine,
That I may rise into my royal throne.

Baj. First shalt thou rip my bowels with thy sword
And sacrifice my heart to death and hell,
Before I yield to such a slavery.

Tamb. Base villain, vassal, slave to Tamburlaine,
Unworthy to embrace or touch the ground
That bears the honour of my royal weight,
Stoop, villain, stoop! Stoop, for so he bids
That may command thee piecemeal to be torn,
Or scattered like the lofty cedar trees

Scene ii.

4. *your*] *you* O_2. 7. *it*] *om.* O_2. 8. *sphere*] *sp*[illegible] 11. *than*] *then* O_2O_4. *it should*] *should it* O_2. 12. *this*] *it* O_4. 15[illegible] 17. *heart*] *soule* O_2.

mographie Universelle (1575), in which he speaks of the Turkish de[illegible] who 'se font des incisions av[illegible] rasoirs le long des cu[illegible] des fesses, des bras, et de l'[illegible]ch, et autres parties du corps' (II. 597).

7. *glorious*] boastful. Derived directly from the Latin 'gloriosus', and made familiar by the popular character of the 'miles gloriosus'.

8. *The chiefest . . . sphere*] This is the Aristotelian conception of God as the 'primus motor' (The 'First Unmoved Mover' of *Metaphysics*, XII. 6 ff.), the power which turned the 'primum mobile', that in its motion gave movement to the other spheres of the Ptolemaic system.

9. *En*[illegible] with, as gold wit[illegible].D. cites Sandys, *R*[illegible]75, '. . . of beaten gol[illegible]chaced with gems.' Cf. I, I. II. 96 and note. *thousands*] The reading of O_{1-4} has been retained. The use of the numeral as an inflected adjective agreeing with the substantive is rare in English and unknown to the classical tongues, though it has, of course, an analogy in the French 'Trois cents hommes'.

22. *stoop! Stoop,*] There is no need to repeat 'stoop' a fourth time as Dyce suggested. The hiatus in the verse is natural in imperative speech and can be paralleled in many contemporary plays.

Struck with the voice of thundering Jupiter.
Baj. Then as I look down to the damned fiends,
Fiends, look on me! and thou, dread god of hell,
With ebon sceptre strike this hateful earth,
And make it swallow both of us at once!
[*He gets up upon him to his chair.*
Tamb. Now clear the triple region of the air,
And let the majesty of heaven behold
Their scourge and terror tread on emperors.
Smile, stars that reign'd at my nativity,
And dim the brightness of their neighbour lamps;
Disdain to borrow light of Cynthia,
For I, the chiefest lamp of all the earth,
First rising in the east with mild aspect,
But fixed now in the meridian line,
Will send up fire to your turning spheres,
And cause the sun to borrow light of you.
My sword struck fire from his coat of steel,
Even in Bithynia, when I took this Turk;
As when a fiery exhalation,
Wrapt in the bowels of a freezing cloud,
Fighting for passage, makes the welkin crack,

45. *makes*] [illegible]*ake* O_{1-4}.

29. *He* [illegible]*ir*] This detail, unl[illegible], to the Oriental h[illegible]ave been assimilated [illegible]ne's saga from the reco[illegible]eatment of the Emperor [illegible] Valerianus by Sapor, King of Persia (*c.* A.D. 260). (See the reference of Sir Walter Ralegh, in note to l. 1.)

30. *triple region of the air*] The N.E.D. defines 'region' in this sense as 'One of the successive portions into which the air or atmosphere is theoretically divided according to height', and quotes J. Harris, *Lex. Techn.*, I. s.v., 'Regions of the Air, are divided into Upper, Middle, and Lower' (1704). Marlowe's Tamburlaine calls upon this threefold space to clear itself that the gods may look down upon him.

34. *their*] Dyce and other editors would read 'your'. But the [illegible]e from second to third per[illegible]-mal and can be readily par[illegible]

38. *meridian line*] The [illegible] (s.v.) defines the celestial meridian as 'The great circle (of the celestial sphere) which passes through the celestial poles and the zenith of any place on the earth's surface. . . . So named because the sun crosses it at noon'. Tamburlaine, likening himself to a sun, says that he has now reached the meridian line, or noon of his fortunes. He further implies that he, unlike other suns, is 'fixed' in the meridian and will not decline.

And casts a flash of lightning to the earth.
But ere I march to wealthy Persia,
Or leave Damascus and th' Egyptian fields,
As was the fame of Clymene's brainsick son
That almost brent the axletree of heaven,
So shall our swords, our lances and our shot
Fill all the air with fiery meteors;
Then, when the sky shall wax as red as blood,
It shall be said I made it red myself,
To make me think of naught but blood and war.

Zab. Unworthy king, that by thy cruelty
Unlawfully usurpest the Persian seat,
Dar'st thou, that never saw an emperor
Before thou met my husband in the field,
Being thy captive, thus abuse his state,
Keeping his kingly body in a cage,
That roofs of gold and sun-bright palaces
Should have prepar'd to entertain his grace?
And treading him beneath thy loathsome feet,
Whose feet the kings of Africa have kissed?

Tech. You must devise some torment worse, my lord,
To make these captives rein their lavish tongues.

Tamb. Zenocrate, look better to your slave.

Zeno. She is my handmaid's slave, and she [illegible] look
That these abuses flow not from [illegible]
Chide her, Anippe.

[illegible] *on* O_4. 49. *Clymene's*] *Clymeus* O_1 O_2 O_4. 50. *brent*] *burnt* O_2 O_4. 57. *usurpest*] *usurp'st* O_2 O_4. 70. *from*] *in* O_2.

49. *Clymene's brain sick son*] References to Phaëthon and his ill-starred attempt to guide the chariot of the sun are numerous in this play; the story, indeed, was a favourite with many Elizabethan poets. Ovid again (*Metam.* I. 750 ff. and II. 1–366) affords a version of the tale which would be readily accessible to Marlowe. Marlowe seems to picture the sun wandering from its sphere and dashing against the axis of the universe upon which all the spheres, as he explains in *Faustus*, should turn. ('All jointly move upon one axeltree | Whose terminine is tearmd the worlds wide pole.' *Faustus*, 652–3.)

50. *brent*] the older form (the reading of O_1 O_2), relatively common in Spenser, has been retained.

Anip. Let these be warnings for you then, my slave,
How you abuse the person of the king;
Or else I swear to have you whipt stark nak'd.
Baj. Great Tamburlaine, great in my overthrow,
Ambitious pride shall make thee fall as low,
For treading on the back of Bajazeth,
That should be horsed on four mighty kings.
Tamb. Thy names and titles and thy dignities
Are fled from Bajazeth and remain with me,
That will maintain it against a world of kings.—
Put him in again. [*They put him into the cage.*
Baj. Is this a place for mighty Bajazeth?
Confusion light on him that helps thee thus.
Tamb. There, whiles he lives, shall Bajazeth be kept;
And where I go be thus in triumph drawn;
And thou his wife shalt feed him with the scraps
My servitors shall bring thee from my board;
For he that gives him other food than this,
Sha'll sit by him and starve to death himself:
This is my mind and I will have it so.
Not all the kings and emperors of the earth,
If they would lay their crowns before my feet,
Shall ransom him, or take him from his cage;
The[illegible]es th[illegible]shall talk of Tamburlaine,
Ev[illegible]rom t[illegible] day to Plato's wondrous year,

72. *for* ... *for you* O_3 O_4. 79. *dignities*] *dignitis* O_3 *dignitie* O_4. 82. S[illegible]*Dyce*. 85. *whiles*] *while* O_4. 87. *shalt*] *shal* O_3. 88. *servitors*] *servitures* O_{1-4}. 89. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

75 *seq. Great Tamburlaine . . . kings*] Marlowe has deliberately stripped Bajazet of dignity in adversity no less than in prosperity, yet he has preserved a certain consistency in the character; the futile defiance of this scene is the counterpart of his earlier insolence.

86. *in triumph drawn*] For this detail, comparison should be made with the accounts of Mexia, Perondinus and their followers. It is to Marlowe's credit that he does not incorporate the wholly unfounded details which Perondinus (followed verbally by Lonicerus, Bizarus and Primaudaye) develops from Chalcondylas's account of Tamburlaine's treatment of the Turkish empress.

96. *Plato's wondrous year*] A commonplace of the schools; the idea and the term occurring frequently in medieval thought. Plato (*Timaeus*, 39D.) refers to the per-

Shall talk how I have handled Bajazeth;
These Moors, that drew him from Bithynia
To fair Damascus, where we now remain,
Shall lead him with us wheresoe'er we go.
Techelles, and my loving followers
Now may we see Damascus' lofty towers,
Like to the shadows of Pyramides
That with their beauties graced the Memphian fields.
The golden stature of their feathered bird,
That spreads her wings upon the city walls,
Shall not defend it from our battering shot.
The townsmen mask in silk and cloth of gold,
And every house is as a treasury;
The men, the treasure and the town is ours.

Ther. Your tents of white now pitch'd before the gates,
And gentle flags of amity displayed,
I doubt not but the governor will yield,
Offering Damascus to your majesty.

Tamb. So shall he have his life, and all the rest.
But if he stay until the bloody flag

105. *stature*] *statue* O_3 O_4.

fect year (τέλεος ἐνιαυτός), the period 'at the end of which all the seven "planets" (= Sun, Moon, and 5 planets) are relatively in the same position as at its beginning . . . at once a whole number of days, of solar years, of revolutions of each of the planets' (Note: A. E. Taylor). Cicero (*Nat. Deor.* II. 20) refers to the 'magnus annus', the period in which the constellations return to their places and Macrobius says that Cicero computed it as 15,000 years. Various computations of its length were made, the early astronomers placing it as low as 8, 19 or 59 solar years. Adam, in the appendix to the *Republic* (vol. II, p. 304) quotes Barocius' *Cosmographia*, I. p 6 (Venetiis, 1598) where, after mentioning various computations, he continues 'quod utique' (i.e. whatever its duration) 'temporis spatium vocant magnum Platonicum annum'; also Johannes de Sacra-Bosco (*Sphæra*, ed. Burgersdicius, 1639, p. 12) 'quod spatium magnus annus appellari solet, aut annus Platonicus'.

104. *grace*] (1) [illegible] and many subsequent editions read 'grace', but Tamburlaine's transition to the past tense of reminiscence is not inconsistent

105. *stature . . . bird*] The reference is to the Ibis (see Cicero, *Nat. Deor.*, I. 36, 101 and also I. 29, 82, II 50, 126), the sacred bird of the Egyptians (cf. Scene III, l 37). The reading 'stature' of O_1 O_2 is here preferred to 'statue' of O_3 O_4. There is a similar confusion of the two words in Part II, II. iv. 140.

Be once advanc'd on my vermilion tent,
He dies, and those that kept us out so long;
And when they see me march in black array,
With mournful streamers hanging down their heads,
Were in that city all the world contain'd,
Not one should scape, but perish by our swords.

Zeno. Yet would you have some pity for my sake,
Because it is my country's and my father's.

Tamb. Not for the world, Zenocrate, if I have sworn.
Come, bring in the Turk. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III

SOLDAN, ARABIA, CAPOLIN, *with streaming colours, and* Soldiers.

Sold. Methinks we march as Meleager did,
Environed with brave Argolian knights,
To chase the savage Calydonian boar,
Or Cephalus, with lusty Theban youths,
Against the wolf that angry Themis sent
To waste and spoil the sweet Aonian fields.
A monster of five hundred thousand heads,
Compact of rapine, piracy and spoil,
The scum of men, the hate and scourge of God,
Raves in Egyptia, and annoyeth us.

Scene iii.

Heading. [illegible]*aming*] *steaming* O_1 O_2. 3. *Calydonian*] *Caldonian* O_1 *Calcedonian* O_3 O_4. 4. *lusty*] *om.* O_4.

124. *country's*] Robinson and some later editors would read 'country' here There seems no reason for rejecting the reading of the octavos. The city Damascus, of which Zenocrate is speaking, belongs to her country and to her father.

Scene iii

1–3. *as Meleager . . Calydonian boar*] The story of Meleager and the hunting of the Calydonian boar seems to have been a favourite with Marlowe at this time. The legend, ultimately derived from Homer, probably reached Marlowe through Ovid (*Metam.* VIII. 270 ff.).

4–6. *Cephalus . . . Aonian fields*] This again is Ovid's version of the story of Cephalus rather than that of the Greek poets. (See *Metam.* VII. 762 ff.)

10. *annoyeth*] has a somewhat stronger force in Elizabethan Eng-

My lord, it is the bloody Tamburlaine,
A sturdy felon and a base bred thief,
By murder raised to the Persian crown,
That dares control us in our territories.
To tame the pride of this presumptuous beast,
Join your Arabians with the Soldan's power;
Let us unite our royal bands in one,
And hasten to remove Damascus' siege.
It is a blemish to the majesty
And high estate of mighty emperors,
That such a base usurping vagabond
Should brave a king, or wear a princely crown.

Arab. Renowmed Soldan, have ye lately heard
The overthrow of mighty Bajazeth
About the confines of Bithynia?
The slavery wherewith he persecutes
The noble Turk and his great emperess?

Sold. I have, and sorrow for his bad success;
But, noble lord of great Arabia,
Be so persuaded that the Soldan is
No more dismayed with tidings of his fall,
Than in the haven when the pilot stands,
And views a stranger's ship rent in the winds,
And shivered against a craggy rock.
Yet in compassion of his wretched state,
A sacred vow to heaven and him I make,
Confirming it with Ibis' holy name,

12. *and*] *om.* O_2 14. *dares*] *dare* O_{2-4}. 17. *bands*] *handes* O_4.

lish than in modern, and often bears, as here, the specifically military sense of molest. Compare Milton's use (*P.L.* VI. 369): 'Nor stood unmindful *Abdiel* to annoy The Atheist crew.'

28. *bad success*] ill fortune. Cf Ralegh, *Discov. Guiana*, 17: 'The hard successe which all these and other Spaniards found in attempting the same.'

32–3. *in the haven . . . winds*] The image immediately recalls that of Lucretius (*De Rer. Nat.* II. 1–2), a writer with whom it is hard to believe Marlowe unacquainted, though actual parallels are not readily found.

37. *Ibis' holy name*] see note IV. ii. 105.

That Tamburlaine shall rue the day, the hour,
Wherein he wrought such ignominious wrong
Unto the hallowed person of a prince,
Or kept the fair Zenocrate so long,
As concubine, I fear, to feed his lust.
Arab. Let grief and fury hasten on revenge;
Let Tamburlaine for his offences feel
Such plagues as heaven and we can pour on him.
I long to break my spear upon his crest,
And prove the weight of his victorious arm;
For fame, I fear, hath been too prodigal
In sounding through the world his partial praise.
Sold. Capolin, hast thou surveyed our powers?
Capol. Great emperors of Egypt and Arabia,
The number of your hosts united is,
A hundred and fifty thousand horse,
Two hundred thousand foot, brave men-at-arms,
Courageous and full of hardiness,
As frolic as the hunters in the chase
Of savage beasts amid the desert woods.
Arab. My mind presageth fortunate success;
And, Tamburlaine, my spirit doth foresee
The utter ruin of thy men and thee.
Sold. Then rear your standards; let your sounding drums
Direct our soldiers to Damascus' walls.
Now, Tamburlaine, the mighty Soldan comes,
And leads with him the great Arabian king,
To dim thy baseness and obscurity,
Famous for nothing but for theft and spoil;
To raze and scatter thy inglorious crew
Of Scythians and slavish Persians. [*Exeunt.*

38. *the hour*] *and houre* O_4. 55. *and*] *om.* O_4. 65. *thy baseness and*] *the basnesse of* O_4.

SCENE IV

The banquet, and to it cometh TAMBURLAINE *all in scarlet,* THERIDAMAS, TECHELLES, USUMCASANE, *the Turk with others.*

Tamb. Now hang our bloody colours by Damascus,
Reflexing hues of blood upon their heads,
While they walk quivering on their city walls,
Half dead for fear before they feel my wrath.
Then let us freely banquet and carouse
Full bowls of wine unto the god of war,
That means to fill your helmets full of gold,
And make Damascus spoils as rich to you
As was to Jason Colchos' golden fleece.
And now, Bajazeth, hast thou any stomach?

Baj. Ay, such a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, as I could willingly feed upon thy blood-raw heart.

Tamb. Nay, thine own is easier to come by; pluck out that and 'twill serve thee and thy wife. Well, Zenocrate, Techelles, and the rest, fall to your victuals.

Baj. Fall to, and never may your meat digest!
Ye Furies, that can mask invisible,

Scene iv.

Heading Scene 4] *Actus* 4: *Scaena* 5 O_{1-3} 17. *mask*] *walke* O_3 O_4.

Scene iv.

Tamburlaine all in scarlet] Bullen first drew attention to the entry in Henslowe's *Diary* (Mar. 13, 1598): 'Tamberlanes breches of crymson velvett.'

9. *Colchos' golden fleece*] The legend of the Argonautae and the expedition to Colchis is to be found in several ancient writers, of whom Ovid at least was familiar to Marlowe (see *Metam.* VII. 1 ff.; *Her.* VI. 1 ff. and *Her.* XII. 1 ff.).

11–15. *Ay, such . . . victuals*] Prose, always a warning signal in Marlowe's dialogue, here possibly represents either condensation or interpolation. In many cases in this play and in *Faustus* it is possible to confirm this suspicion by the fragments of blank verse which are buried in the prose passages. The lines in this scene do not appear to contain any such fragments, with the exception of Bajazet's speech here, which, with the omission of 'willingly' scans as two blank verse lines, but we can say with confidence, none the less, that they are not of Marlowe's writing; he was capable of (and far more at ease in) conducting such a dialogue as this in rhetorical blank verse (cf. III. iii).

17. *Furies . . . invisible*] There seems little need to invest the Erinyes with the power of invisibility as Bajazet does here.

Dive to the bottom of Avernas pool,
And in your hands bring hellish poison up,
And squeeze it in the cup of Tamburlaine!
Or, winged snakes of Lerna, cast your stings,
And leave your venoms in this tyrant's dish.
Zab. And may this banquet prove as ominous
As Progne's to th' adulterous Thracian king
That fed upon the substance of his child!
Zeno. My lord, how can you suffer these
Outrageous curses by these slaves of yours?
Tamb. To let them see, divine Zenocrate,
I glory in the curses of my foes,
Having the power from the imperial heaven
To turn them all upon their proper heads.
Tech. I pray you, give them leave, madam; this speech is a goodly refreshing to them.
Ther. But if his highness would let them be fed, it would do them more good.
Tamb. Sirrah, why fall you not to? are you so daintily brought up, you cannot eat your own flesh?

33. *goodly*] *good* O_3 O_4. *to*] *for* O_2. 36. *you not*] *ye not* O_3 O_4. 37. *cannot eat*] *cannot not eat* O_3.

Throughout Greek mythology the Avengers have no difficulty in carrying out their purposes without this aid. Marlowe's impression may have been due in the first place to the common association of the classical lower world with darkness, and in the second to allusions in Christian literature to the 'unseen' powers of evil. These grim deities seem to have been favourites with Marlowe: he reverts to them, with a pleasing fantasy, at the end of the first sestiad of *Hero and Leander*. He seems, moreover, to make little distinction between the Furies and the Fates, a confusion possibly traceable to passages such as *Metam.* IV. 450 ff., where the two groups are mentioned in close connection.

18. *Avernas*] see I. ii. 159 and note.

24. *Progne's . . . king*] For the story of Procne, Philomela and Tereus, king of Thrace, who was deceived by Procne into eating their child Itys, Marlowe is indebted again to Ovid (*Met.* VI. 565). It is worth noting that here, as in other cases where there are various versions of a tale, Marlowe follows the Ovidian version.

26. *My lord . . . these*] The line lacks two syllables. Various conjectures have been made to supply the defect: 'tamely suffer', Dyce etc.; 'My gracious Lord', Wagner.

30. *imperial*] represents more nearly the 'Emperiall' of the octavos than does the 'empyreal' of some later editors. It is hard to

Baj. First, legions of devils shall tear thee in pieces.

Usum. Villain, knowest thou to whom thou speakest?

Tamb. O, let him alone. Here; eat, sir; take it from my sword's point, or I'll thrust it to thy heart.

[*He takes it, and stamps upon it.*

Ther. He stamps it under his feet, my lord.

Tamb. Take it up, villain, and eat it; or I will make thee slice the brawns of thy arms into carbonadoes and eat them.

Usum. Nay, 'twere better he killed his wife, and then she shall be sure not to be starv'd, and he be provided for a month's victual beforehand.

Tamb. Here is my dagger; despatch her while she is fat, for if she live but a while longer, she will fall into a consumption with fretting, and then she will not be worth the eating.

Ther. Dost thou think that Mahomet will suffer this?

Tech. 'Tis like he will, when he cannot let it.

Tamb. Go to; fall to your meat. What, not a bit? Belike he hath not been watered to-day; give him some drink.

[*They give him water to drink, and he flings it on the ground.*

Fast, and welcome, sir, while hunger make you eat.

40. *Here*] *there* O_3 O_4. *from*] *up from* O_4. 44. *slice*] *flice* O_3 *fleece* O_4. 50. *fall*] *not fall* O_4.

say whether a distinction in spelling was observed by the printers. See also note on II. vii. 75 above.

44. *slice*] The relations between the four texts are clearly indicated by the variants in this line. O_1 O_2 read 'slice'; O_3, by a common error, substitutes 'f' for long 's' and reads 'flice'; O_4, endeavouring to make sense of this, reads 'fleece', a form not likely to have been arrived at had the printer of O_4 worked directly from O_1 O_2.

carbonadoes], steaks, thin strips of meat. Shakespeare uses it in a similar context (*Cor.* IV. v. 198 *seq.*): 'Before Corioli he scotched him and notched him like a carbonado.'

53–4. *let*] hinder.

56. *watered*] used transitively, with an animate creature for object, was confined in Elizabethan English, as in modern, to the giving of drink to horses and cattle, or to an army on the march.

58. *while*] until. Compare *Macbeth*, III. i. 44: 'While then, God be with you!' and the modern Scots and Irish usage.

How now, Zenocrate, doth not the Turk and his wife
make a goodly show at a banquet?
Zeno. Yes, my lord.
Ther. Methinks 'tis a great deal better than a consort of
music.
Tamb. Yet music would do well to cheer up Zenocrate.
Pray thee tell, why art thou so sad? if thou wilt have a
song, the Turk shall strain his voice. But why is it?
Zeno. My lord, to see my father's town besieg'd,
The country wasted, where myself was born,
How can it but afflict my very soul?
If any love remain in you, my lord,
Or if my love unto your majesty
May merit favour at your highness' hands,
Then raise your siege from fair Damascus walls,
And with my father take a friendly truce.
Tamb. Zenocrate, were Egypt Jove's own land,
Yet would I with my sword make Jove to stoop.
I will confute those blind geographers
That make a triple region in the world,
Excluding regions which I mean to trace,
And with this pen reduce them to a map,
Calling the provinces, cities and towns
After my name and thine, Zenocrate.

62. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4. 74. *friendly*] *frindly* O_1.

61. *Yes, my lord*] Zenocrate's mood is consistent throughout this scene. She has not spoken, except for the half-protesting words of ll. 26–27, until now when Tamburlaine directly addresses her. The brevity of her reply brings his attention at once to her sadness, for which he can see no reason. Marlowe has well revealed the contrast between the two characters.

62. *a consort of music*] as usually in the late sixteenth century, a company of musicians. The use of the phrase to mean a musical entertainment does not seem to occur until the late seventeenth century.

78 *triple region*] Marlowe is thinking of the three great groups of land, America, Europe with Asia, and Africa. The continent of Australasia was as yet only a rumour Tamburlaine intends to re-map the world, discovering fresh territories and naming them. Damascus shall be the centre of this new world, through it shall travel the zero line upon his map from which longitude shall in future be calculated. For another interpretation, see Harold H. Scudder (in T.L.S., Mar. 2, 1933), who finds a reference to the Treaty of 1497 between Spain, Portugal and the Vatican.

Here at Damascus will I make the point
That shall begin the perpendicular;
And wouldst thou have me buy thy father's love
With such a loss? tell me, Zenocrate.

Zeno. Honour still wait on happy Tamburlaine.
Yet give me leave to plead for him, my lord.

Tamb. Content thyself; his person shall be safe,
And all the friends of fair Zenocrate,
If with their lives they will be pleas'd to yield,
Or may be forc'd to make me emperor;
For Egypt and Arabia must be mine.
Feed, you slave; thou mayst think thyself happy to be fed from my trencher.

Baj. My empty stomach, full of idle heat,
Draws bloody humours from my feeble parts,
Preserving life by hasting cruel death.
My veins are pale, my sinews hard and dry,
My joints benumb'd; unless I eat, I die.

Zab. Eat, Bajazeth. Let us live in spite of them, looking some happy power will pity and enlarge us.

Tamb. Here Turk, wilt thou have a clean trencher?

Baj. Ay, tyrant, and more meat.

Tamb. Soft sir, you must be dieted; too much eating will make you surfeit.

85. *thy*] *my* O_4. 98. *hasting*] *hastening* O_3O_4. 100. *benumb'd*] *benumbd* O_2 *be numb'd* O_3 O_4.

84. *the perpendicular*] The imaginary line dropped from any given point on the earth's surface to the celestial grand circle, so determining the zenith of that place and establishing a meridian. Tamburlaine means that he will make Damascus the zero of the new map of the world that he is going to create, as Greenwich is now the zero of British maps, by making its meridian the first meridian, or longitude 0°.

96–100. *my empty stomach . . . benumb'd*] Marlowe's knowledge of physiology seems never, as has been noticed above, to have been so extensive as his knowledge of more abstract sciences. In his later work there are very few physiological descriptions or explanations, and even in this play, which contains more than any other, we find only academic knowledge derived ultimately from Aristotle and showing no recognition of the more advanced of contemporary discoveries.

Ther. So it would, my lord, specially having so small a walk and so little exercise.

Enter a second course of crowns.

Tamb. Theridamas, Techelles and Casane, here are the cates you desire to finger, are they not?

Ther. Ay, my lord; but none save kings must feed with these.

Tech. 'Tis enough for us to see them, and for Tamburlaine only to enjoy them.

Tamb. Well; here is now to the Soldan of Egypt, the King of Arabia, and the Governor of Damascus.
Now, take these three crowns,
And pledge me, my contributory kings.
I crown you here, Theridamas, king of Argier;
Techelles, king of Fesse; and Usumcasane,
King of Moroccus. How say you to this, Turk?
These are not your contributory kings.

Baj. Nor shall they long be thine, I warrant them.

Tamb. Kings of Argier, Moroccus, and of Fesse,
You that have marched with happy Tamburlaine
As far as from the frozen place of heaven
Unto the watery morning's ruddy bower,
And thence by land unto the torrid zone,
Deserve these titles I endow you with,
By valour and by magnanimity.

107. *specially*] *especially* O_3 O_4. 126. *bower*] *hower* O_1 O_2. 129. *valour*] *Rob. etc. value* O_{1-4}.

115–121. *Now, take . . . kings*] This passage, generally printed as prose (as in the octavos), has here been divided according to the suggestion of Bullen, so that it reads as rough blank verse.

125–7. *As far . . . torrid zone*] Tartary and Scythia were pictured by the Elizabethans as lands of ice and snow lying to the far north. Tamburlaine's marches have led him from North to East and from there to the tropical south. This squares better with the records of history than with the routes described in the play, which are mainly South and West from Tamburlaine's starting-point.

125. *place*] For 'place' of O_{1-4} many editors read 'plage', a reading which is supported by that of II. i. i. 68, and by Miss Seaton's reference (*R.E.S.*, p. 397) to Clauserus' and Bibliander's use of the word in the sense of shore or region: 'Versus Orientalem plagam' and 'in orientali plaga'.

Your births shall be no blemish to your fame;
For virtue is the fount whence honour springs,
And they are worthy she investeth kings.

Ther. And, since your highness hath so well vouchsafed,
If we deserve them not with higher meeds
Than erst our states and actions have retain'd,
Take them away again and make us slaves.

Tamb. Well said, Theridamas. When holy Fates
Shall stablish me in strong Egyptia,
We mean to travel to th' antarctic pole,
Conquering the people underneath our feet,
And be renowm'd as never emperors were.
Zenocrate, I will not crown thee yet,
Until with greater honours I be grac'd.

Finis Actus quarti.

131 *whence*] *where* O_4. 136 *again*] *om* O_3 O_4 139. *th' antarctic*] *th' Antatique* O_1 *th' Antartique* O_2 O_3 *the Antartique* O_4

130–3. *Your births . . . kings*] A sentiment which Marlowe, the scholar of Corpus Christi, loses no opportunity of expressing.

131. *virtue*] power and ability.

137. *holy Fates*] Marlowe blends again the language of Christendom and paganism.

139–40. *We mean . . . feet*] With this boast, and with the lingering thought of the southern stars (Part II, III ii. 29–31) we may contrast Tamburlaine's regrets as he surveys the map of the world upon his death-bed (II. v. iii. 154–8).

ACT V

SCENE I

The GOVERNOR OF DAMASCO *with three or four* Citizens, *and four* Virgins *with branches of laurel in their hands.*

Gov. Still doth this man, or rather god of war,
Batter our walls and beat our turrets down;
And to resist with longer stubbornness,
Or hope of rescue from the Soldan's power,
Were but to bring our wilful overthrow,
And make us desperate of our threatened lives.
We see his tents have now been altered
With terrors to the last and cruel'st hue;
His coal-black colours, everywhere advanced,
Threaten our city with a general spoil;
And if we should with common rites of arms
Offer our safeties to his clemency,
I fear the custom proper to his sword,
Which he observes as parcel of his fame,
Intending so to terrify the world,
By any innovation or remorse
Will never be dispensed with till our deaths.
Therefore, for these our harmless virgins' sakes,
Whose honours and whose lives rely on him,
Let us have hope that their unspotted prayers,

Act V. Scene i.

8. *cruel'st*] *crulest* O_2. 18. *sakes*] *sake* O_2 O_4.

Act V. Scene i.

14. *parcel of*] an essential part of. N.E.D. cites Norton's tr. of Norvell's *Catechism* (1570): 'To praise and magnify God's goodness . . . is parcel of the worshipping of God.'

20 *seq. Let us . . . conqueror*] In the sending out of the Damascan virgins Marlowe has combined the records given by Mexia, Peron-

Their blubbered cheeks and hearty humble moans
Will melt his fury into some remorse,
And use us like a loving conqueror.

Virg. If humble suits or imprecations
(Uttered with tears of wretchedness and blood
Shed from the heads and hearts of all our sex,
Some made your wives, and some your children,)
Might have entreated your obdurate breasts
To entertain some care of our securities
Whiles only danger beat upon our walls,
These more than dangerous warrants of our death
Had never been erected as they be,
Nor you depend on such weak helps as we.

Gov. Well, lovely virgins, think our country's care,
Our love of honour, loath to be enthrall'd
To foreign powers and rough imperious yokes,
Would not with too much cowardice or fear,
Before all hope of rescue were denied,
Submit yourselves and us to servitude.
Therefore, in that your safeties and our own,
Your honours, liberties, and lives were weigh'd
In equal care and balance with our own,
Endure as we the malice of our stars,
The wrath of Tamburlaine and power of wars;

29. *care*] *cares* O_2. 31 *than*] *then* O_3 O_4. 33. *helps*] *help* O_4. 37. *too*] *two* O_4. 44. *power*] *powers* O_4.

dinus and others of the taking of Damascus and of an unnamed city which rashly delayed submission until too late, and then sent emissaries to beg for mercy. None of these versions make the emissaries virgins only; Mexia has women and children; Perondinus, like Pius, girls and boys; Granucci, priests, boys, women and children. All agree as to their destruction by Tamburlaine; Mexia, Perondinus and the majority of the others say they were destroyed by a cavalry charge. This episode, unlike the treatment of Bajazet and the legend of the tents, seems to have a historical basis. Arabshah, Schiltberger and Chalcondylas agree in describing some such massacre, either at Ispahan or at Sebastia.

24. *imprecations*] prayers. Marlowe's usage is nearer to the Latin than is the modern English.

29. *securities*] either safety, security (somewhat unusually, concrete and plural), or protection, defence. The N.E.D. gives no examples of a similar plural usage at this time.

Or be the means the overweighing heavens
Have kept to qualify these hot extremes,
And bring us pardon in your cheerful looks.

2. *Virg.* Then here, before the majesty of heaven
And holy patrons of Egyptia,
With knees and hearts submissive we entreat
Grace to our words and pity to our looks,
That this device may prove propitious,
And through the eyes and ears of Tamburlaine
Convey events of mercy to his heart;
Grant that these signs of victory we yield
May bind the temples of his conquering head,
To hide the folded furrows of his brows,
And shadow his displeased countenance
With happy looks of ruth and lenity.
Leave us, my lord, and loving countrymen:
What simple virgins may persuade, we will.

Gov. Farewell, sweet virgins, on whose safe return
Depends our city, liberty, and lives.

[*Exeunt all except the Virgins.*

SCENE II

TAMBURLAINE, TECHELLES, THERIDAMAS, USUMCASANE, *with others.* TAMBURLAINE *all in black and very melancholy.*

Tamb. What, are the turtles frayed out of their nests?
Alas, poor fools, must you be first shall feel
The sworn destruction of Damascus?

63. S.D. *all . . . Virgins*] *Add. Dyce.*

45. *overweighing*] preponderating, overruling.

54. *events*] as in III. ii. 16, results, effects. The idea here seems to be that a merciful result or outcome may be suggested to Tamburlaine. Collier's suggested emendation 'intents' is, I think, unnecessary.

55–6. *these signs of victory*] The laurel boughs, here symbolical of victory to be resigned to Tamburlaine, are substituted by Marlowe for the olive branches which in the versions of Mexia and Perondinus conveyed the desire for peace.

Scene ii.

1. *turtles*] turtle-doves.

They know my custom; could they not as well
Have sent ye out when first my milk-white flags,
Through which sweet Mercy threw her gentle beams,
Reflexed them on your disdainful eyes,
As now when fury and incensed hate
Flings slaughtering terror from my coal-black tents,
And tells for truth submissions comes too late?

1. *Virg.* Most happy king and emperor of the earth,
Image of honour and nobility,
For whom the powers divine have made the world,
And on whose throne the holy graces sit;
In whose sweet person is compris'd the sum
Of nature's skill and heavenly majesty;
Pity our plights! O, pity poor Damascus!
Pity old age, within whose silver hairs
Honour and reverence evermore have reign'd,
Pity the marriage bed, where many a lord
In prime and glory of his loving joy
Embraceth now with tears of ruth and blood
The jealous body of his fearful wife,
Whose cheeks and hearts, so punished with conceit,
To think thy puissant never-stayed arm
Will part their bodies and prevent their souls
From heavens of comfort yet their age might bear,
Now wax all pale and withered to the death,
As well for grief our ruthless governor
Have thus refused the mercy of thy hand,
(Whose sceptre angels kiss and furies dread,)
As for their liberties, their loves, or lives.
O, then, for these and such as we ourselves,

Scene ii.

4. *know*] *knew* O_2. 8. *As*] *and* O_4. 9. *tents*] *tent* O_3 O_4. 10. *comes*] *come* O_2. 22. *of ruth and*] *and ruth of* O_4. 30. *Have*] *Hath* O_2 O_4.

5. *flags*] perhaps a reminiscence of Fortescue's 'ensigns'.

7. *your*] It seems hardly necessary to emend to 'their' as Dyce, Wagner and others have done. Tamburlaine is speaking to the virgins as they approach him.

For us, for infants, and for all our bloods,
That never nourished thought against thy rule,
Pity, O pity, sacred emperor,
The prostrate service of this wretched town;
And take in sign thereof this gilded wreath,
Whereto each man of rule hath given his hand,
And wished, as worthy subjects, happy means
To be investers of thy royal brows
Even with the true Egyptian diadem.

Tamb. Virgins, in vain ye labour to prevent
That which mine honour swears shall be perform'd.
Behold my sword; what see you at the point?

Vir. Nothing but fear and fatal steel, my lord.

Tamb. Your fearful minds are thick and misty, then,
For there sits Death; there sits imperious Death,
Keeping his circuit by the slicing edge.
But I am pleased you shall not see him there;
He now is seated on my horsemen's spears,
And on their points his fleshless body feeds.
Techelles, straight go charge a few of them
To charge these dames, and shew my servant Death,
Sitting in scarlet on their armed spears.

Omnes. O, pity us!

Tamb. Away with them, I say, and shew them Death.
[*They take them away.*
I will not spare these proud Egyptians,
Nor change my martial observations
For all the wealth of Gihon's golden waves,

35. *nourished*] *nourish* O_3 O_4. 37. *prostrate*] *prostarte* O_3. 40. *wished*] *wish* O_3 O_4. 43. *ye*] *you* O_3. 50. *there*] *chere* O_3 O_4.

34. *bloods*] metonymy for lives or spirits.

48–9. *Death . . . edge*] the imperious judge, holds his court on the edge of Tamburlaine's sword, the image being that of a judge's circuit. Or, more simply, the domain of Death, the area through which he ranges (his *circuit*), is co-terminous with that reached by Tamburlaine's sword. Tamburlaine's personification of Death is interesting, the image is almost invariably that of a destroyer as in this speech. (Cf. Part II, II. iv. 83–4; v. iii. 67–71.)

59. *observations*] observances, rites.

60. *Gihon*] the second river of

Or for the love of Venus, would she leave
The angry god of arms and lie with me.
They have refused the offer of their lives,
And know my customs are as peremptory
As wrathful planets, death, or destiny.

Enter TECHELLES.

What, have your horsemen shown the virgins Death?
Tech. They have, my lord, and on Damascus' walls
Have hoisted up their slaughtered carcasses.
Tamb. A sight as baneful to their souls, I think,
As are Thessalian drugs or mithridate.
But go, my lords, put the rest to the sword.

[*Exeunt.*

Ah, fair Zenocrate, divine Zenocrate,
Fair is too foul an epithet for thee,
That in thy passion for thy country's love,
And fear to see thy kingly father's harm,
With hair dishevelled wip'st thy watery cheeks;
And like to Flora in her morning's pride,
Shaking her silver tresses in the air,
Rain'st on the earth resolved pearl in showers,
And sprinklest sapphires on thy shining face,
Where Beauty, mother to the Muses, sits,

76. *dishevelled*] *discheweld* O_1 O_2 *dischevaeld* O_3 O_4. 78. *tresses*] *treshes* O_1 O_2 O_4.

Eden, 'that encompasseth the whole land of Ethiopia' (*Genesis* ii. 13), sometimes identified, as by Broughton, with the Oxus of the ancients, 'and the gold of that land is good'.

70. *Thessalian*] the land of witchcraft (spoken of by Plato, Aristophanes, Horace, Ovid, etc.) bore a reputation for magic and strange drugs, never better revealed than in *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius or the sixth book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Ovid, Horace or Lucan is most likely to have been the source of Marlowe's knowledge. See Horace, *Od.*, I. 27, 21; Ovid, *Metam.*, VII. 264, etc., and especially *Am.*, III. 7, 27: 'num mea Thessalicō languet devota veneno corpora? num misero carmen et herba nocent?' Mithridate is generally an antidote to poisons, here it is the poison itself.

72. *Ah, fair Zenocrate . . .*] Such a transition is ever characteristic of Tamburlaine and of Marlowe.

81. *Beauty, mother to the Muses*] The genealogy is, of course, Marlowe's own.

And comments volumes with her ivory pen,
Taking instructions from thy flowing eyes,
Eyes, when that Ebena steps to heaven,
In silence of thy solemn evening's walk,
Making the mantle of the richest night,
The moon, the planets, and the meteors, light.
There angels in their crystal armours fight
A doubtful battle with my tempted thoughts
For Egypt's freedom and the Soldan's life,
His life that so consumes Zenocrate;
Whose sorrows lay more siege unto my soul
Than all my army to Damascus' walls;
And neither Persia's sovereign nor the Turk
Troubled my senses with conceit of foil
So much by much as doth Zenocrate.
What is beauty, saith my sufferings, then?

88. *fight*] *fights* O_3O_4. 94. *Persia's*] *Rob. etc.* *Perseans* (*Persians*) O_{1-4}.

84. *Eyes*] must, as this line stands, be accented as a dissyllable. *Ebena*] has long been untraceable. Classical mythology knows no such deity. It is just possible that Marlowe had read, in some source unknown to his editors, a phrase such as 'Nux ĕbĕnīna', though the adjective from 'ĕbĕnus' does not occur in classical Latin. Even were this so, we should have to assume, first that Marlowe mistook the quantity (a rare thing with him, but the more pardonable in that the word could not in any event occur in a verse source) and secondly that a minim misprint has occurred in the text and that the line should read 'Eyes when that Ebenína stéps to héaven'. The construction is perhaps a little unusual; Zenocrate's eyes prompt Beauty to her wisest reflections, giving, at evening, light to the luminaries of heaven. From those eyes, moreover, comes the fiercest battle that is raised against Tamburlaine's ambitious thoughts.

95. *conceit*] conception, idea.

97–110. *What is beauty . . . can digest*] This passage has been overpraised. It is fine rhetoric, but there is surely more poetry in the broken passage that follows and certainly in many others in the play. Marlowe is self-conscious and has filled out his lines with phrases characteristic of the prompting of self-consciousness rather than of passion. If we consider frankly phrases such as 'sweetness that inspir'd their hearts', 'muses on admyred theames', 'flowers of Poesy', 'restlesse heads' and, most betraying of all, the characteristic 'at the least' (so like the equally characteristic 'and the rest') we agree with Broughton's honest and independent comment: 'The author in this speech "apprehends a world of figures" but has not expressed them very felicitously. He apparently aimed at producing a sample of *fine writing*, and, to confess the truth, succeeded perfectly.' Had the passage been written in rime, it would have been fitter for the *Essay on Criticism* than for Tamburlaine upon the battlefield. Paul H. Kocher suggests that ll. 97–110 were originally written as a sonnet and altered and incorporated when the play was first printed.

If all the pens that ever poets held
Had fed the feeling of their masters' thoughts,
And every sweetness that inspir'd their hearts,
Their minds and muses on admired themes;
If all the heavenly quintessence they still
From their immortal flowers of poesy,
Wherein as in a mirror we perceive
The highest reaches of a human wit—
If these had made one poem's period,
And all combin'd in beauty's worthiness,
Yet should there hover in their restless heads
One thought, one grace, one wonder, at the least,
Which into words no virtue can digest.
But how unseemly is it for my sex,
My discipline of arms and chivalry,
My nature, and the terror of my name,
To harbour thoughts effeminate and faint!
Save only that in beauty's just applause,

114. *harbour*] *habour* O_3. *effeminate*] *effemiate* O_3 O_4.

115 *seq. Save only . . . nobility*] What follows is in complete contrast to the rhetoric of the preceding lines, a penetrating analysis (unfortunately confused by an obviously corrupt text) of the power of beauty over the soul of man.

115–27. This passage presents more textual difficulty than any other in the play. The lines 120–4 present in themselves a series of problems and have been freely emended and discussed, but they do not seriously affect the meaning of the whole passage. This meaning is, however, obscured for other reasons. Lines 115–16 read, in all the early texts, 'Save only that in beauty's just applause, etc.' a reading which (taking 'that' as a conjunction), though presenting a movement of thought and metre highly characteristic of Marlowe, leaves us with an unfinished sentence (followed by an interpolated sentence, 'And every . . . conceits') which cannot without violence be yoked to l. 120. A further, similar, difficulty occurs in l. 126, in which 'that' may be a conjunction and 'virtue' bear the general meaning of 'power', 'capacity', or 'that' be a demonstrative adjective referring 'virtue' back to 'beauty' of l. 119, or to the power of conceiving and subduing it of l. 120. Briefly I should paraphrase the original reading as follows, italicizing the phrase supplied to complete the idea that seems implicit in the development of the thought from l. 72 to 127:

'[It is a disgrace to a soldier to harbour effeminate thoughts] Except for the fact that in a just reverence for beauty, with the prompting of which the soul of man is stirred, *lies one of the main sources of valour*—and every warrior . . . needs the stimulus of

With whose instinct the soul of man is touched,
And every warrior that is rapt with love
Of fame, of valour, and of victory,
Must needs have beauty beat on his conceits,
I thus conceiving, and subduing both,
That which hath stopt the tempest of the gods,
Even from the fiery spangled veil of heaven,
To feel the lovely warmth of shepherds' flames,
And march in cottages of strowed weeds,

122. *fiery spangled*] *spangled firie* O_3 O_4. 124. *march*] *martch* O_{1-3}. *cottages*] *cottges* O_3 *coatches* O_4.

beauty to urge his thought to its highest achievement. I, who can both acknowledge beauty and hold it to its due function, even that beauty which has reduced the gods etc. . . . shall reveal to the world, despite my birth, that this dual power is alone the highest glory and alone fashions a noble man.'

The alternative interpretation of the O_{1-4} reading of ll. 115–16 removes the need to supply words omitted by the author or the printer, but gives a somewhat strained syntax and a general effect unlike Marlowe's writing at this time, 'No effeminate thought should be harboured by a warrior except that (thought) in the applause of beauty, etc.'

A third suggestion has been made to me which seems to allow of both thought and metrical form worthy of the concluding couplet of a long Marlovian debate, without either straining the syntax or fathering upon Marlowe anything so unusual or so slovenly as an unfinished sentence. It involves the not improbable transposition of 'in' and 'that' by the printer which, when adjusted, would give 'No effeminate thought . . . except in the just applause of that beauty with whose instinct . . .' etc.

The separate group of problems presented by the obviously corrupt lines 121–4 has been variously handled. The reading of O_1 is given in the text, as in the Oxford edition, the readings of O_{2-4}, where they differ from O_1, in the critical apparatus and in the notes below. The following are the emendations that have been suggested:

121. *stopt*] *stoopt Dyce* [2] *etc. tempest temper Collier, tempers Fraser's Mag., Brereton. chiefest, Dyce* [2] *to Wagner, etc. topmost, Deighton.*

122. *fiery spangled*] O_{1-2}. *spangled firie* O_3 O_4. Collier and Dyce [2] conjectured *fire-yspangled*. For *vaile* of O_{1-4}, Collier somewhat unnecessarily suggested *vault.*

123. *lovely*] *lowly conj. Collier, Cunningham, Bullen, Brereton.*

124. *martch*] *mask, conj. Broughton, Dyce to Wag., etc. match conj. Fraser's Mag. and Brereton. cottages of* O_{1-2}. *cottges of* O_3. *coatches of* O_4.] *cottagers' offstrowed, conj. Broughton. of*] *on, conj. Cook. weeds*] *reeds Dyce* [2] *etc.*

The mistakes implied in some of these emendations are such as are not likely to occur in setting up from an Elizabethan manuscript (for example, 'martch' from an original 'mask'), while other suggestions are neither necessary nor helpful to the interpretation. Keeping the original reading, the following paraphrase, among others, can be made: 'That [i.e. beauty] which has brought down the wrath of the Gods [therefore, by metonymy, "the Gods"] even

Shall give the world to note, for all my birth,
That virtue solely is the sum of glory,
And fashions men with true nobility.
Who's within there?

Enter two or three.

Hath Bajazeth been fed to-day?

Attend. Ay, my lord.

Tamb. Bring him forth; and let us know if the town be ransacked.

Enter TECHELLES, THERIDAMAS, USUMCASANE, *and others.*

Tech. The town is ours, my lord, and fresh supply
Of conquest and of spoil is offered us.

Tamb. That's well, Techelles. What's the news?

Tech. The Soldan and the Arabian king together
March on us with such eager violence
As if there were no way but one with us.

Tamb. No more there is not, I warrant thee, Techelles.

They bring in the Turk.

Ther. We know the victory is ours, my lord,
But let us save the reverend Soldan's life
For fair Zenocrate that so laments his state.

Tamb. That will we chiefly see unto, Theridamas,
For sweet Zenocrate, whose worthiness
Deserves a conquest over every heart.

130. Prefix *Attend.*] *Dyce. An.* O_{1-4}. 132. S.D. *and*] *with* O_3 O_4. 137. *us*] *with us* O_2. 141. *reverend*] *reverent* O_3 O_4.

from the very height of heaven, to feel the humble joys of human emotions and move in spheres no higher than weed-strown cottages.'

A further suggestion was made by Mitford and quoted by Dyce [1], namely that ll. 121–4, for whatever they are worth, should be bodily moved to a position between l. 116 and l. 117. I fail to see how this can make the already considerable confusion anything but worse confounded.

138. *no way but one with us*] This is surely a common phrase. Dyce cites an instance as late as Dryden and Mistress Quickly's words on the death of Falstaff (*Henry V*, II. iii. 16) come instantly to mind.

And now, my footstool, if I lose the field,
You hope of liberty and restitution.
Here let him stay, my masters, from the tents,
Till we have made us ready for the field.
Pray for us, Bajazeth; we are going.
[*Exeunt.*

Baj. Go, never to return with victory!
Millions of men encompass thee about,
And gore thy body with as many wounds!
Sharp, forked arrows light upon thy horse!
Furies from the black Cocytus' lake,
Break up the earth, and with their firebrands
Enforce thee run upon the baneful pikes!
Vollies of shot pierce through thy charmed skin,
And every bullet dipt in poisoned drugs!
Or roaring cannons sever all thy joints,
Making thee mount as high as eagles soar!

Zab. Let all the swords and lances in the field
Stick in his breast as in their proper rooms!
At every pore let blood come dropping forth,
That lingering pains may massacre his heart,
And madness send his damned soul to hell!

Baj. Ah, fair Zabina, we may curse his power,
The heavens may frown, the earth for anger quake;
But such a star hath influence in his sword
As rules the skies and countermands the gods
More than Cimmerian Styx or Destiny:
And then shall we in this detested guise,

158. *Vollies*] *Valleyes* O_4. 164. *pore*] *dore* O_4. 171. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

155. *Furies . . . lake*] The line lacks the initial unaccented syllable. Cocytus is generally described as a river, not a lake, of the underworld. Like the Acheron, of which it was actually a tributary, its association with the underworld caused it to be transferred there by popular mythology.

171. *Styx*] The chief river of the underworld, the daughter of Oceanus, was the divinity by whom the most solemn oaths were sworn. Marlowe's allusion may be a reminiscence of Virgil's line: 'Di cuius jurare timent et fallere numen.'

With shame, with hunger and with horror ay
Griping our bowels with retorqued thoughts,
And have no hope to end our ecstasies.
Zab. Then is there left no Mahomet, no God,
No fiend, no fortune, nor no hope of end
To our infamous, monstrous slaveries.
Gape, earth, and let the fiends infernal view
A hell as hopeless and as full of fear
As are the blasted banks of Erebus,
Where shaking ghosts with ever howling groans
Hover about the ugly ferryman,
To get a passage to Elysian.
Why should we live? O wretches, beggars, slaves!
Why live we, Bajazeth, and build up nests
So high within the region of the air,
By living long in this oppression,
That all the world will see and laugh to scorn
The former triumphs of our mightiness
In this obscure infernal servitude?
Baj. O life, more loathsome to my vexed thoughts
Than noisome parbreak of the Stygian snakes,
Which fills the nooks of hell with standing air,

173. *ay*] *aye* O_4 *aie* O_1 O_2. 180 *A*] *Rob. etc. As* O_{1-4}. 192. *thoughts*] *thought* O_3 O_4. 193. *Than*] *Then* O_3 O_4.

173. *ay*] The reading aye (aie) of the octavos presupposes a verb such as 'remain', 'live', unexpressed. This seems preferable to the emendations 'live' and 'stay' suggested by Robinson and by Dyce and adopted by many later editors.

174. *retorqued*] An unusual word, obviously closely connected with the French 'retorquer'. Here it may be taken to mean 'driven back upon themselves', 'twisted inward' and exactly expresses Bajazet's misery. The N.E.D. cites only this passage.

175. *ecstasies*] as often, any superlative emotions; not necessarily joyful.

178. *infámous*] Marlowe persistently stresses thus. Cf. below ll 329, 342

184. *Elysian*] the reading of the octavo is retained here.

193–5. *Than noisome . . . cureless griefs*] The graphic quality of these lines suggests that they are a deliberate reproduction, but from what source I do not know The Stygian snakes call to mind Spenser's description of Error (*F Q.*, I. i.) and have, so far as I can discover, no parallel in classical mythology, although the Furies are commonly described with serpents twined about them or in their hair. (See Ovid, *Metam.*, IV. 490 and Seneca, *De Ira*, III. 35. 5.)

Infecting all the ghosts with cureless griefs!
O dreary engines of my loathed sight,
That sees my crown, my honour and my name
Thrust under yoke and thraldom of a thief,
Why feed ye still on day's accursed beams,
And sink not quite into my tortur'd soul?
You see my wife, my queen, and emperess,
Brought up and propped by the hand of Fame,
Queen of fifteen contributory queens,
Now thrown to rooms of black abjection,
Smear'd with blots of basest drudgery,
And villeiness to shame, disdain, and misery.
Accursed Bajazeth, whose words of ruth,
That would with pity cheer Zabina's heart,
And make our souls resolve in ceaseless tears,
Sharp hunger bites upon and gripes the root
From whence the issues of my thoughts do break.
O poor Zabina! O my queen, my queen!
Fetch me some water for my burning breast,
To cool and comfort me with longer date,
That, in the shortened sequel of my life,
I may pour forth my soul into thine arms
With words of love, whose moaning intercourse
Hath hitherto been stayed with wrath and hate
Of our expressless banned inflictions.
Zab. Sweet Bajazeth, I will prolong thy life

199. *ye*] *you* O_4. 204. *abjection*] *objection* O_2 O_4. 207. *ruth*] *truth* O_4.

196. *engines*] as often, instruments, means.

204. *abjection*] here used in the still surviving sense of abasement, degradation. These lines represent Marlowe's general reproduction of the detailed account of Perondinus. (See Appendix D.)

206. *villeiness*] The reading of O_{1-4} stands, I think, for villeiness, the feminine of villein, in the sense of servant, still current in Elizabethan English. The N.E D. quotes this passage under 'villainess' without distinguishing it from the later and modern usage of that word. It should rather, I think, appear as 'villeiness'. (See Cotgrave: A villeinesse, a woman of a servile condition.)

219. *expressless*] passive, as often in Elizabethan English: inexpressible. *banned*] repressed, bound down.

As long as any blood or spark of breath
Can quench or cool the torments of my grief.

[She goes out.

Baj. Now Bajazeth, abridge thy baneful days,
And beat thy brains out of thy conquer'd head,
Since other means are all forbidden me,
That may be ministers of my decay.
O highest lamp of ever-living Jove,
Accursed day, infected with my griefs,
Hide now thy stained face in endless night,
And shut the windows of the lightsome heavens.
Let ugly darkness with her rusty coach,
Engirt with tempests wrapt in pitchy clouds,
Smother the earth with never-fading mists,
And let her horses from their nostrils breathe
Rebellious winds and dreadful thunder claps,
That in this terror Tamburlaine may live,
And my pin'd soul, resolv'd in liquid air,
May still excruciate his tormented thoughts.
Then let the stony dart of senseless cold
Pierce through the centre of my withered heart,
And make a passage for my loathed life.

[He brains himself against the cage.

224. *thy*] *the* O_3 O_4. 227. *ever-living*] *everlasting* O_4. 237. *air*] *ay* O_1O_2.

231. *ugly Darkness . . . coach*] The coach or chariot of night (to which Marlowe again refers in *Hero and Leander*, II. 332–4) is a commonplace and is described by Euripides, Theocritus, Tibullus and Virgil (*Aen.*, v. 721), the last of which writers was certainly read by Marlowe. But the attributes of ugliness ('rusty' in this passage, 'loathsome' in *H. and L.*) seem to be Marlowe's own addition. I can find no parallel in the classical references, though they frequently call the coach black. A little later, however, in the *Faery Queene*, Spenser has several similar references: 'yron charet' and 'rusty bits' (I. v. 20); 'charet fild with rusty blood' (I. v. 32).

237–8. *my pin'd soul . . . thoughts*] Bajazet here conceives of the Spirit as a subtle essence allied to the air and dwelling in it, a theory which seems to carry us back rather to the doctrines of Anaximenes of Miletus and Diogenes of Apollonia (sixth and fifth centuries B C.) than to Aristotle or to the common Christian view. I cannot trace the means by which this idea reached Marlowe.

241. *He brains himself*] The suicide of Bajazet is described only by Perondinus and Primaudaye, who obviously follows him.

Enter ZABINA.

Zab. What do mine eyes behold? my husband dead!
His skull all riven in twain! his brains dash'd out,
The brains of Bajazeth, my lord and sovereign!
O Bajazeth, my husband and my lord!
O Bajazeth! O Turk! O emperor!
Give him his liquor? not I. Bring milk and fire, and my blood I bring him again. Tear me in pieces, give me the sword with a ball of wild-fire upon it. Down with him, down with him. Go to my child; away, away, away! ah, save that infant! save him, save him! I, even I, speak to her. The sun was down, streamers white, red, black. Here, here, here! Fling the meat in his face Tamburlaine, Tamburlaine! Let the soldiers be buried. Hell, death, Tamburlaine, hell! Make ready my coach, my chair, my jewels. I come, I come, I come!
[*She runs against the cage, and brains herself.*

ZENOCRATE *with* ANIPPE.

Zeno. Wretched Zenocrate, that livest to see
Damascus' walls dy'd with Egyptian blood,
Thy father's subjects and thy countrymen;
Thy streets strowed with dissevered joints of men,
And wounded bodies gasping yet for life;
But most accursed, to see the sun-bright troop

248. *give*] *and give* O_3. 254–5. *Let . . . Tamburlaine*] *om.* O_3O_4. 256. *I come, I come, I come*] *I come I come* O_3O_4. S.D. *Zenocrate with Anippe*] *Enter Zenocrate . . . etc.* O_4. 257. Prefix *Zeno.*] *om.* O_{1-3}.

247–56. *Give him . . . I come, I come*] This seems to be one of the few passages in which the prose form is intentional and not the result of corruption of the text. Though blank verse lines may be found embedded in it, the passage is best printed as prose. I think Marlowe meant to express these broken thoughts in a medium which combined broken rhythms with prose, just as Shakespeare, later, uses prose mixed with snatches of verse for Ophelia's words and prose for Lady Macbeth's. Each of Zabina's exclamations can, like Lady Macbeth's, be traced to some episode of the immediate past, though not always to one which has been chronicled in the play.

255. *Make ready my coach*] Here, at least, is a phrase which Shakespeare was destined to remember and use again.

Of heavenly virgins and unspotted maids,
Whose looks might make the angry god of arms
To break his sword and mildly treat of love,
On horsemen's lances to be hoisted up,
And guiltlessly endure a cruel death:
For every fell and stout Tartarian steed,
That stamped on others with their thundring hoofs,
When all their riders charg'd their quivering spears,
Began to check the ground and rein themselves,
Gazing upon the beauty of their looks.
Ah, Tamburlaine, wert thou the cause of this,
That term'st Zenocrate thy dearest love?
Whose lives were dearer to Zenocrate
Than her own life, or aught save thine own love.
But see another bloody spectacle.
Ah, wretched eyes, the enemies of my heart,
How are ye glutted with these grievous objects,
And tell my soul more tales of bleeding ruth!
See, see, Anippe, if they breathe or no.

Anip. No breath, nor sense, nor motion, in them both.
Ah, madam, this their slavery hath enforc'd,
And ruthless cruelty of Tamburlaine.

Zeno. Earth, cast up fountains from thy entrails,
And wet thy cheeks for their untimely deaths;
Shake with their weight in sign of fear and grief.
Blush heaven, that gave them honour at their birth,

269. *hoofs*] *hooves* O_1O_2. 276. *Than*] *Then* O_3O_4. 285. *thy*] *thine* O_3O_4.

271. *check the ground*] used again of horses stamping on the ground in *Hero and Leander*, II. 143–4.

279. *glutted*] is an unfortunate favourite with Marlowe, most unsuitably used, perhaps, in *Faustus*, but ill-placed here also. Miss Seaton points out that it also occurs in Belleforest's *Cosmographie universelle*. (See *R.E.S.*, Oct., 1929, p. 397.)

285. *entrails*] here trisyllabic.

288 *seq. Blush heaven . . . so long in misery*] In this speech alone is reproduced the gist of the reflexions with which Mexia accompanies the narrative of Bajazet. 'Sic transit gloria mundi' is no part of Marlowe's main theme in *Tamburlaine*, but it is skilfully suggested in the intervals, through Zenocrate's reflexions, and serves to emphasize the high colour and strong movement of the main action. The strophic movement of this speech, with its refrain, may

And let them die a death so barbarous.
Those that are proud of fickle empery
And place their chiefest good in earthly pomp,
Behold the Turk and his great emperess!
Ah, Tamburlaine, my love, sweet Tamburlaine,
That fightst for sceptres and for slippery crowns,
Behold the Turk and his great emperess!
Thou that, in conduct of thy happy stars,
Sleep'st every night with conquest on thy brows,
And yet wouldst shun the wavering turns of war,
In fear and feeling of the like distress,
Behold the Turk and his great emperess!
Ah, mighty Jove and holy Mahomet,
Pardon my love! O, pardon his contempt
Of earthly fortune and respect of pity;
And let not conquest, ruthlessly pursued,
Be equally against his life incensed
In this great Turk and hapless emperess!
And pardon me that was not mov'd with ruth
To see them live so long in misery.
Ah, what may chance to thee, Zenocrate?

Anip. Madam, content yourself, and be resolv'd,
Your love hath Fortune so at his command,
That she shall stay and turn her wheel no more,
As long as life maintains his mighty arm
That fights for honour to adorn your head.

Enter a Messenger.

Zeno. What other heavy news now brings Philemus?

Phil. Madam, your father and th' Arabian king,
The first affecter of your excellence,
Comes now as Turnus 'gainst Æneas did,

294. *fightst*] *fights* O_1 O_2. 298. *war*] *warres* O_3 O_4.

be compared with Part II, II. iv. 1–33; V. iii. 1–41 and 145–158.

290. *empery*] empire or imperial power.

318. *as Turnus . . .*] The wars of Turnus and Aeneas, occasioned by Aeneas's marriage with Lavinia, formerly betrothed to Turnus, are

Armed with lance into the Ægyptian fields,
Ready for battle 'gainst my lord the king.
Zeno. Now shame and duty, love and fear presents
A thousand sorrows to my martyred soul.
Whom should I wish the fatal victory,
When my poor pleasures are divided thus,
And racked by duty from my cursed heart?
My father and my first betrothed love
Must fight against my life and present love;
Wherein the change I use condemns my faith,
And makes my deeds infamous through the world.
But as the gods, to end the Trojan's toil,
Prevented Turnus of Lavinia,
And fatally enriched Æneas' love,
So, for a final issue to my griefs,
To pacify my country and my love,
Must Tamburlaine by their resistless powers,
With virtue of a gentle victory,
Conclude a league of honour to my hope;
Then, as the powers divine have pre-ordained,
With happy safety of my father's life
Send like defence of fair Arabia.

[*They sound to the battle. And Tamburlaine enjoys the victory; after, Arabia enters wounded.*

Arab. What cursed power guides the murdering hands
Of this infamous tyrant's soldiers,
That no escape may save their enemies,
Nor fortune keep themselves from victory?
Lie down, Arabia, wounded to the death
And let Zenocrate's fair eyes behold,
That, as for her thou bearst these wretched arms,

333. *final*] *small* O_2.

described in the seventh book of the *Aeneid*. Marlowe shows from time to time a knowledge of Virgil, though not, I think, at this date so close a knowledge as of Ovid. Compare ll. 330–2 below.

Even so for her thou diest in these arms,
Leaving thy blood for witness of thy love.
Zeno. Too dear a witness for such love, my lord.
Behold Zenocrate, the cursed object
Whose fortunes never mastered her griefs;
Behold her wounded in conceit for thee,
As much as thy fair body is for me!
Arab. Then shall I die with full contented heart,
Having beheld divine Zenocrate,
Whose sight with joy would take away my life,
As now it bringeth sweetness to my wound,
If I had not been wounded as I am—
Ah, that the deadly pangs I suffer now
Would lend an hour's licence to my tongue,
To make discourse of some sweet accidents
Have chanc'd thy merits in this worthless bondage,
And that I might be privy to the state
Of thy deserv'd contentment and thy love!
But making now a virtue of thy sight,
To drive all sorrow from my fainting soul,
Since death denies me further cause of joy,
Depriv'd of care, my heart with comfort dies,
Since thy desired hand shall close mine eyes.

Enter TAMBURLAINE *leading the* SOLDAN, TECHELLES, THERIDAMAS, USUMCASANE, *with others.*

Tamb. Come, happy father of Zenocrate,
A title higher than thy Soldan's name,
Though my right hand have thus enthralled thee,
Thy princely daughter here shall set thee free,
She that hath calmed the fury of my sword,
Which had ere this been bathed in streams of blood

349. *thy blood*] *my blood* O_2. 358. *bringeth*] *bringth* O_2. 373. *have*] *hath* O_2 O_4.

353. *conceit*] here equivalent to the modern 'imagination'. Compare 'That in conceit bear empires on our spears' (I. ii. 64).

As vast and deep as Euphrates or Nile.
Zeno. O sight thrice welcome to my joyful soul,
To see the king my father issue safe
From dangerous battle of my conquering love!
Sold. Well met, my only dear Zenocrate,
Though with the loss of Egypt and my crown.
Tamb. 'Twas I, my lord, that gat the victory,
And therefore grieve not at your overthrow,
Since I shall render all into your hands,
And add more strength to your dominions
Then ever yet confirm'd th' Egyptian crown.
The god of war resigns his room to me,
Meaning to make me general of the world;
Jove, viewing me in arms, looks pale and wan,
Fearing my power should pull him from his throne;
Where'er I come the fatal sisters sweat,
And grisly death, by running to and fro
To do their ceaseless homage to my sword;
And here in Afric, where it seldom rains,
Since I arriv'd with my triumphant host,
Have swelling clouds, drawn from wide gasping wounds,
Been oft resolv'd in bloody purple showers,
A meteor that might terrify the earth,
And make it quake at every drop it drinks;
Millions of souls sit on the banks of Styx,
Waiting the back return of Charon's boat;
Hell and Elysium swarm with ghosts of men
That I have sent from sundry foughten fields
To spread my fame through hell and up to heaven;
And see, my lord, a sight of strange import,

391. *should*] *shall* O_3 O_4. 392. *sweat*] *sweare* O_3 O_4.

377. *Eúphrates*] With this accenting of the name, Wagner compares *Ant. and Cleop.*, I. ii. 106: 'Extended Asia from Euphrates.'

401–5. *Millions of souls . . . up to heaven*] Again here is the familiar and almost unconscious blending of pagan and Christian phraseology in the phrases about Styx, Charon and Elysium, followed by the 'up to heaven' of l. 405.

Emperors and kings lie breathless at my feet;
The Turk and his great empress, as it seems,
Left to themselves while we were at the fight,
Have desperately despatched their slavish lives;
With them Arabia too hath left his life:
All sights of power to grace my victory.
And such are objects fit for Tamburlaine,
Wherein, as in a mirror, may be seen
His honour, that consists in shedding blood
When men presume to manage arms with him.

Sold. Mighty hath God and Mahomet made thy hand,
Renowmed Tamburlaine, to whom all kings
Of force must yield their crowns and emperies;
And I am pleased with this my overthrow,
If, as beseems a person of thy state,
Thou hast with honour used Zenocrate.

Tamb. Her state and person wants no pomp, you see;
And for all blot of foul inchastity,
I record heaven, her heavenly self is clear:
Then let me find no further time to grace
Her princely temples with the Persian crown;
But here these kings that on my fortunes wait,
And have been crown'd for proved worthiness
Even by this hand that shall establish them,
Shall now, adjoining all their hands with mine,
Invest her here my Queen of Persia.
What saith the noble Soldan and Zenocrate?

Sold. I yield with thanks and protestations
Of endless honour to thee for her love.

Tamb. Then doubt I not but fair Zenocrate
Will soon consent to satisfy us both.

Zeno. Else should I much forget myself, my lord.

Ther. Then let us set the crown upon her head,
That long hath lingered for so high a seat.

Tech. My hand is ready to perform the deed,

432. *my*] *the* O_2. 436. *I not*] *not I* O_2 O_4. 438. *Else*] *Then* O_2.

For now her marriage time shall work us rest.
Usum. And here's the crown, my lord; help set it on.
Tamb. Then sit thou down, divine Zenocrate;
And here we crown thee Queen of Persia,
And all the kingdoms and dominions
That late the power of Tamburlaine subdued.
As Juno, when the giants were suppressed
That darted mountains at her brother Jove,
So looks my love, shadowing in her brows
Triumphs and trophies for my victories;
Or as Latona's daughter, bent to arms,
Adding more courage to my conquering mind.
To gratify thee, sweet Zenocrate,
Egyptians, Moors, and men of Asia,
From Barbary unto the Western Indie,
Shall pay a yearly tribute to thy sire;
And from the bounds of Afric to the banks
Of Ganges shall his mighty arm extend.
And now, my lords and loving followers,
That purchas'd kingdoms by your martial deeds,
Cast off your armour, put on scarlet robes,
Mount up your royal places of estate,
Environed with troops of noble men,
And there make laws to rule your provinces:
Hang up your weapons on Alcides' post;

443. *on*] *om.* O_2. 461. *your*] *you* O_2. *martial*] *matiall* O_1.

448. *As Juno . . .*] This appears to be Marlowe's own image. Hera is not specifically mentioned in classical accounts of the battles between Zeus and the Titans.

452. *Latona's daughter*] The arms of Artemis (daughter of Leto) are not, strictly, those of war, but of the chase.

456. *From Barbary . . . Indie*] That is, from the northern coast of Africa in the west to the Ganges in the east, the extent, eastward and westward, of Tamburlaine's empire.

466. *Alcides' post*] The emendation 'posts' substituted (perhaps by confusion with the Pillars of Hercules?) by Dyce and others for the reading of the octavos is invalidated by Horace's lines:

'Veianius, armis
'Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.'
(*Ep.*, I. i. 4–5.)

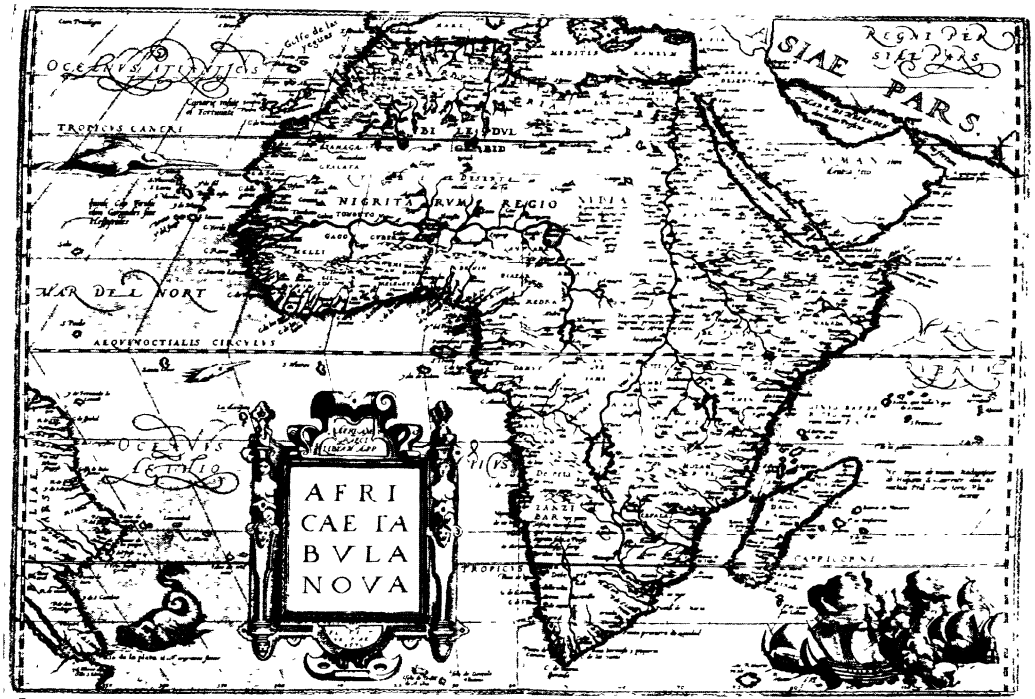
'Post' is an obvious Latinism, 'postis' being the door-post of the temple.

For Tamburlaine takes truce with all the world,
Thy first betrothed love, Arabia,
Shall we with honour, as beseems, entomb,
With this great Turk and his fair emperess.
Then, after all these solemn exequies,
We will our rites of marriage solemnise.

Finis Actus quinti and ultimi huius primae partis.

469. *as*] *as best* O_2. 472. *rites*] *conj. Mit. celebrated rites* O_{1-4}.

472. *rites*] The reading follows the conjecture of Mitford. The octavos agree in the reading 'celebrated rites'.



MAP OF AFRICA
From Ortelius Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1584

TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT

PART II

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

TAMBURLAINE, *King of Persia.*
CALYPHAS, AMYRAS, CELEBINUS, } his sons.
THERIDAMAS, *King of Argier.*
TECHELLES, *King of Fez.*
USUMCASANE, *King of Morocco.*
ORCANES, *King of Natolia.*
KING OF TREBIZON.
KING OF SORIA.
KING OF JERUSALEM.
KING OF AMASIA.
GAZELLUS, *Viceroy of Byron.*
URIBASSA.
SIGISMUND, *King of Hungary.*
FREDERICK, BALDWIN, } *lords of Buda and Bohemia.*
CALLAPINE, *son to* BAJAZETH, *and prisoner to* TAMBURLAINE.
ALMEDA, *his keeper.*
GOVERNOR OF BABYLON.
CAPTAIN OF BALSERA.
HIS SON.
ANOTHER CAPTAIN.
MAXIMUS, PERDICAS, PHYSICIANS, LORDS, CITIZENS, MESSENGERS, SOLDIERS, *and* ATTENDANTS.
ZENOCRATE, *wife to* TAMBURLAINE.
OLYMPIA, *wife to the* CAPTAIN OF BALSERA.
TURKISH CONCUBINES.

Dramatis Personæ.

The list of these was first added by Dyce It does not appear in the octavos. The characters added to those of the first part are numerous, only Tamburlaine, Zenocrate and the three original followers remaining. Of the twenty additional characters, very few are mentioned and still fewer named by Marlowe's authorities

CALYPHAS. This name seems to be Marlowe's own adaptation of the common title Caliph or Calipha, which he could have found in Bizarus and many of the authors he consulted. 'It is odd', says Miss Seaton,[1] in speaking of the names of the sons of Tamburlaine, 'that he adopted such Turkish titles as those now familiar to us in Caliph, Emir and Ameer to form names for princes supposedly Scytho-Egyptian by birth, Persian by rule. He may have taken a hint from Lonicerus: Vocatur idem generali nomine AMIRAS et Caliphas, quod successorem significat: summumque Principem, penes quem imperii et religionis potestas esset, quales fuere Babylonis, ubi regni postmodum fuit sedes, hoc nomine intellexerunt (*op. cit.*, 1578, I, f. 3; 1584, I, 5).' The three sons of Timûr are named by Chalcondylas Sachruchus, Paiangures and Abdulatriphes; Sacruch appears also in other accounts.

AMYRAS. See above note.

CELEBINUS. This is the title of the heir of Bajazet, a name recorded in many histories of the Turkish empire. Lonicerus, as Miss Seaton points out, explains it 'as a title in connection with this heir of Bajazet, Calepine, as both he and Marlowe style him.' Marlowe has, then, simply transferred the title and made it the name of one of Tamburlaine's sons.

ORCANES. This is the name of an earlier Turkish emperor (1328–1350) which Marlowe has transferred to the king of Natolia (approximately Turkey) contemporary with the last years of Tamburlaine. Orcanes was the son of Ottomanes, the founder of the dynasty, and was the grandfather of Bajazeth.

KING of TREBIZON, of SORIA, of JERUSALEM, of AMASIA The names of these kings, like those of the African kings in the first part of the play, were probably suggested to Marlowe by a study of the maps of Eastern Europe and Western Asia

GAZELLUS. This name is mentioned by Bizarus and others, but it belongs, like that of Techelles in the first play, to a later period of history. Marlowe has perhaps, again, transported it from the pages of his authority to serve a different purpose in his own writing.

SIGISMUND For the historical Sigismund and his relation to Marlowe's story, see the Introduction (sources of Part II) and the notes on II, I and II *passim* The names of Frederick and Baldwin could have been derived from the same sources that supplied Marlowe with that of Sigismund.

CALLAPINE The son and successor of Bajazet is necessarily mentioned in all the histories of the Turkish Empire. As Calepinus Cyriscelebes (or a variant of this name) he appears in the accounts of Sagundinus, Granucci, Mexia, Newton and others. But, as 'Calepinus Cyricelibes, otherwise Cybelius', as Miss Seaton points out,[2] he appears only in Lonicerus, who 'alone gives the full title, heading thus the chapter on this individual, whom he calls the fifth emperor of the Turks: Calepinus Cyricelibes Qui et Cibelinus, quintus Turcorum Imperator.'

[1] *Fresh Sources for Marlowe*, p. 388. (*R.E.S.*, Oct., 1929.)

[2] *Fresh Sources for Marlowe*, pp. 386–9, (*R.E.S.*, Oct, 1929.)

The second part of | The bloody Conquests | of mighty Tamburlaine. | With his impassionate fury, for the death of | his Lady and love, faire Zenocrate: his fourme | of exhortation and discipline to his three | sons, and the maner of his own death.

THE PROLOGUE

THE general welcomes Tamburlaine receiv'd,
When he arrived last upon our stage,
Hath made our poet pen his second part,
Where death cuts off the progress of his pomp,
And murderous Fates throws all his triumphs down.
But what became of fair Zenocrate,
And with how many cities' sacrifice
He celebrated her sad funeral,
Himself in presence shall unfold at large.

Heading.

With his impassionate fury . . own death] *om* O_4.

Prologue.

2. *our*] *the* O_4. 5. *triumphs*] *tryumph* O_4. 8. *sad*] *Rob., etc. said* O_{1-4}.

The Prologue

1–3. *The general welcomes . . second part*] The reference in these lines to the success of the first part of *Tamburlaine* and the writing of the second part have been used as the basis of most arguments for the dating of the composition. (See *Introduction*, section 2.)

8 *sad*] The conjecture adopted by Robinson and most subsequent editors is here retained instead of the reading 'said' of the octavos.

ACT I

SCENE I

ORCANES *king of Natolia,* GAZELLUS *viceroy of Byron,* URIBASSA, *and their train, with drums and trumpets.*

Orc. Egregious viceroys of these eastern parts,
Plac'd by the issue of great Bajazeth,
And sacred lord, the mighty Callapine,
Who lives in Egypt prisoner to that slave
Which kept his father in an iron cage,
Now have we marched from fair Natolia
Two hundred leagues, and on Danubius' banks
Our warlike host in complete armour rest,
Where Sigismund, the king of Hungary,
Should meet our person to conclude a truce.
What? shall we parle with the Christian,
Or cross the stream, and meet him in the field?

Byr. King of Natolia, let us treat of peace;
We are all glutted with the Christians' blood,

Act I. Scene i.

Heading. Uribassa] *Upibassa* O_{1-4} (*and in Prefix to l* 20).

Act I. Scene i.

1. *Egregious*] noble, distinguished.

4. *Who lives . . . prisoner*] The capture of the sons of Bajazet is only mentioned by the Oriental and Byzantine historians. Mexia says that Tamburlaine's sons, after his death, lost the empire to the sons of Bajazet. (See Fortescue, Appendix C.) The names of Bajazet's sons are, however, frequently mentioned.

6 *seq. Now have we . . . a truce*] The source and relations of the episodes introduced here have been described in the Introduction. Some of the characters are historical figures belonging to the period of the battle of Varna (1444).

Natolia] see Seaton, *Marlowe's Map*, p. 20: 'Natolia is much more than the modern Anatolia; it is the whole promontory of Asia Minor, with a boundary running approximately from the modern Bay of Iskenderûn eastward towards Aleppo, and then north to Batum on the Black Sea.'

And have a greater foe to fight against,
Proud Tamburlaine, that now in Asia,
Near Guyron's head, doth set his conquering feet,
And means to fire Turkey as he goes:
'Gainst him, my lord, must you address your power.

Uri. Besides, King Sigismund hath brought from Christendom
More than his camp of stout Hungarians,
Slavonians, Almains, Rutters, Muffs and Danes,
That with the halberd, lance and murdering axe,
Will hazard that we might with surety hold.

Orc. Though from the shortest northern parallel,
Vast Gruntland, compassed with the frozen sea,
Inhabited with tall and sturdy men,

19. *must you*] *you must* O_3. 22. *Slavonians*] *Sclavonians* $O_1 O_2$. *Almains, Rutters*] *Almans Rutters* O_3 25. Prefix *Orc*] *Add. Dyce om.* O_{1-4}. 26. *Gruntland*] *Grantland* $O_3 O_4$.

16. *Proud Tamburlaine . . . Asia*] Tamburlaine here slips easily into the place of the later Scanderbeg, whose success against the Turks at Dybra disposed Amurath II to treat for peace. By 'Asia' in this line it seems that Asia Minor is meant, the district more usually called by Marlowe Natolia. 'Marlowe only twice uses the names of Asia Minor or Asia the Less, while Asia and Asia Major denote either the whole continent, or the part of Asia beyond this boundary.' (Seaton, *Marlowe's Map*, p. 20.)

17. *Guyron's head*] 'Guyron is not an invention of Marlowe's, but occurs twice in the *Theatrum*, as Guiron in the *Turcicum Imperium*; it is a town near the Upper Euphrates, north-east of Aleppo, in the latter map not far from the confines of Natolia, and therefore a possible outpost.' (Seaton, *Marlowe's Map*, pp. 22–3.)

22. *Almains, Rutters*] Collier would have conjectured 'Almain Rutters' (i.e. German horsemen); it seems preferable, however, to allow the text to stand, in spite of the evidence of *Faustus*, I: 'Like Almain Rutters, with their horsemen's staves' *Muffs*] Collier would also suggest 'Russ', not an altogether satisfactory substitute.

25–6 *from the shortest . . . frozen sea*] The shortest northern parallel is the smallest circle of latitude described on the globe towards the north, hence the line within which fall the most northerly regions. There is no need to emend 'Gruntland' to 'Greenland' (the modern form), still less to read 'Grantland' with $O_3 O_4$, as Robinson and some subsequent editors do. In Ortelius, *Septentrionalium Regionum Descriptio* (1570), Grœnlandt (Greenland) appears to the N. of Iceland, not directly touched by the Mare Congelatum, but bounded by the Oceanus Hyperboreus. Ortelius's name is the normal Dutch form of the period and Marlowe or his printer has accidentally added an infixed 't' while also anglicizing the œ to u.

27–8. *tall and sturdy men, Giants*] There is no authority for Marlowe's giants, nor are the inhabitants of polar regions generally large. Per-

Giants as big as hugy Polypheme,
Millions of soldiers cut the arctic line,
Bringing the strength of Europe to these arms,
Our Turkey blades shall glide through all their throats,
And make this champion mead a bloody fen;
Danubius' stream, that runs to Trebizon,
Shall carry, wrapt within his scarlet waves,
As martial presents to our friends at home,
The slaughtered bodies of these Christians;
The Terrene main, wherein Danubius falls,
Shall by this battle be the bloody sea;
The wandering sailors of proud Italy

29. *cut the*] *out the* O_3 *out of* O_4.

haps he was prompted by the contrasting (and much more probable) statement, on the almost unmapped territory of 'Sententrio' in the map referred to above, 'Pigmei hic habitant'. *Polypheme*] the legend of Polyphemus, originally derived from the *Odessey*, Marlowe could again find in Ovid. (*Metam*, XIII. 772 ff., XIV. 167 ff.).

29 *cut the arctic line*]: Cross the arctic circle southward.

32. *champion*] See Part I, II. ii 40.

33–41 *Danubius' stream . . . against their argosies*] The notorious difficulty contained in this passage has, after years of indulgent or contemptuous comment on the part of Marlowe's editors, been explained by Miss Seaton, who quotes Shakespeare's similar reference to the 'compulsive course' of the Pontick Sea (*Othello*, III. iii), and 'an even clearer description of the violent flow of the Bosporus from north to south' given by Petrus Gyllius. 'This last', she continues, 'is precisely Marlowe's idea. He sees the waters of the Danube sweeping from the river mouths in two strong currents, the one racing across the Black Sea to Trebizond, the other swirling southward to the Bosporus, and so onward to the Hellespont and the Aegean. Both currents bear the slaughtered bodies of Christian soldiers, the one to bring proof of victory to the great Turkish town, the other to strike terror to the Italian merchants cruising round the Isles of Greece. Nicholas Nicholay, one of Marlowe's recognized authorities, definitely connects the "compulsive course" with the flow of rivers: "But for so much as many great rivers . . from Europe doe fall into the Blacke and Euxine Sea, it commeth to pass that beyng full, she gusheth out through the mouth of her wyth great vyolence intoo the Sea Pontique (i.e. Propontic) and from thence through the streit of Hellesponthus . . . into the Sea of Egee." Perondinus, another source, in speaking of Bajazeth's defeat by Tamburlaine, uses an expression that may have given the idea to Marlowe: *Eufrates . . . maiore sanguinis et aquarum vi ad mare Rubrum volveretur*; here, like Marlowe, he considers the main sea into which the inland sea opens to be the outlet of the river, for *Mare Rubrum* can include the modern Arabian Sea, as it does in the *Turcicum Imperium* of Ortelius.' (Seaton, *Marlowe's Map*, pp. 32–3.)

Shall meet those Christians fleeting with the tide,
Beating in heaps against their argosies,
And make fair Europe, mounted on her bull,
Trapped with the wealth and riches of the world,
Alight and wear a woful mourning weed.

Byr. Yet, stout Orcanes, Prorex of the world,
Since Tamburlaine hath mustered all his men,
Marching from Cairon northward with his camp
To Alexandria and the frontier towns,
Meaning to make a conquest of our land,
'Tis requisite to parle for a peace
With Sigismund, the king of Hungary,
And save our forces for the hot assaults
Proud Tamburlaine intends Natolia.

Orc. Viceroy of Byron, wisely hast thou said.
My realm, the centre of our empery,
Once lost, all Turkey would be overthrown;
And for that cause the Christians shall have peace.
Slavonians, Almains, Rutters, Muffs and Danes
Fear not Orcanes, but great Tamburlaine;
Nor he, but Fortune that hath made him great.
We have revolted Grecians, Albanese,

58. *Almains*] *Almans* O_3 O_4

41. *argosies*] The large merchant vessels of the late sixteenth century, especially those of Ragusa and Venice. The name 'argosy', whose earliest form is frequently 'ragusye', is now generally considered to have been formed from that of the port.

42. *Europe mounted on her bull*] For the legend of Europa and the bull Marlowe may again be indebted to Ovid, *Metam.*, II. 836 ff. and VI. 104.

45. *Prorex*] Cf. Part I, I. i. 89. Marlowe reduces this rather curious word *ad absurdum* in the present phrase.

58. *Almains . . . Muffs*] See l. 22, above, and note.

59. *Fear*] frighten.

61–3. *Grecians . . . Sorians*] Albanians of this period belonged to the district between the Caucasus and the west coast of the Caspian Sea; for 'Cicilians' Brooke queries 'Cilicians'; 'Sorians' appears in O_3 as 'Syrians', while Dyce explains it as dwellers in 'Tyre, anciently called Zur or Zor'. Miss Seaton remarks that 'Soria' 'replaces in Part II the form Siria of Part I. Egyptia in Part I includes Siria, for Damascus is Egyptian; in Part II, Egypt is distinct from Soria, and its capital is Cairo, named for the first time' (p. 21).

Cicilians, Jews, Arabians, Turks and Moors,
Natolians, Sorians, black Egyptians,
Illyrians, Thracians and Bithynians,
Enough to swallow forceless Sigismund,
Yet scarce enough t' encounter Tamburlaine.
He brings a world of people to the field,
From Scythia to the oriental plage
Of India, where raging Lantchidol
Beats on the regions with his boisterous blows,

63 *Sorians*] *Syrians* O_2 *black*] *and black* O_3 O_4 64. *Illyrians*] *Illicians* O_{1-2} *Illirians* O_3 O_4 (*Between l* 63 *and l.* 64, O_3 O_4 *insert l* 41 of *Scene II, which, in these editions, is missing from between l* 40 *and l.* 42 *In* O_3 *the catchword of Sig. F7 is* 'Illici' *but the second line of Sig. F7v has the form* 'Illirians'.) 68 *plage*] *Place* O_3 O_4.

68. *oriental plage*] The region or district (of India). Miss Seaton (*R.E.S.*, p. 397) points out that 'it is strongly reminiscent of the cosmographers' and cites Clauserus and Bibliander for similar uses Cf. also I, IV. iv 125 and note

69–76 *Lantchidol . Tamburlaine*] Again we may turn to Miss Seaton's elucidation of geographical references in *Marlowe's Map*: 'Broughton's note, "Lantchidol was the name of the part of the Indian Ocean lying between Java and New Holland", was possibly due to the reproduction of the *Typus Orbis Terrarum* in Hakluyt, or to the mention of the sea in Wilkes's translation of Pigafetta's voyage in his *History of Travayle* (1577, f. 446 verso). Marlowe could read of it there or could, before Hakluyt, find it in the original map, where *Lantchidol Mare* borders a promontory of yet unexplored land, in outline suggesting the north-west of Australia, but here merely designated *Beach*. The name, apparently a native one, may have recalled to Marlowe's mind, through its English synonym, the phrase that he knew from other sources, "Oriental Plage". But with that map of the world before him, and with the map of Africa in his head, Marlowe did not make the mistake that almost every editor has made for him by altering the punctuation of the Octavo of 1592. He did not think that Asia, or even its farthest isles, extended "under Capricorne"; yet that is how almost every editor punctuates the lines No, the sense-division is at "Tamburlaine"; from Scythia to the farthest East Indies, all Asia is in arms with Tamburlaine; from the Canaries (the juncture of Cancer and the Meridian) southward to *Amazonum Regio* and the land under Capricorne, and thence northward again to the islands of the Mediterranean, all Africa is in arms with Tamburlaine The second part is a summary of the general's campaigns in Africa, to be expanded and detailed later. The colons at *discouered* and at *Archipellago* are attractive examples of their use to denote the "actor's pause", the rhetorical upward intonation and emphasis at the end of the line, before the drop to the end of the sense-paragraph, such as it is still heard at the *Comédie Française*. Here they do not imply a division of sense; that comes on the name that tolls four strokes throughout the speech like a knell of doom' (p. 31–2).

That never seaman yet discovered,
All Asia is in arms with Tamburlaine;
Even from the midst of fiery Cancer's tropic
To Amazonia under Capricorn,
And thence, as far as Archipelago,
All Afric is in arms with Tamburlaine;
Therefore, viceroys, the Christians must have peace.

SCENE II

SIGISMUND, FREDERICK, BALDWIN, *and their train, with drums and trumpets.*

Sig. Orcanes, as our legates promised thee,
We, with our peers, have crossed Danubius' stream,
To treat of friendly peace or deadly war.
Take which thou wilt; for, as the Romans used,
I here present thee with a naked sword;
Wilt thou have war, then shake this blade at me;
If peace, restore it to my hands again,
And I will sheathe it, to confirm the same.
Orc. Stay, Sigismund; forgetst thou I am he
That with the cannon shook Vienna walls,
And made it dance upon the continent,
As when the massy substance of the earth
Quiver about the axle-tree of heaven?
Forgetst thou that I sent a shower of darts,
Mingled with powdered shot and feathered steel,
So thick upon the blink-ey'd burghers' heads,

77. *viceroys*] *Viceroie* O_2.

Scene ii.

1. Prefix *Sigis.*] *om.* O_3.

Scene ii.

13. *axle-tree of heaven*] The pole upon which not only the earth but the spheres, co-axial with it, were supposed to turn. Compare *Faustus*, 649–54:

'Such are the spheares,
'Mutually folded in each others orbe, . . .
'All jointly move upon one axle-tree,
'Whose terminine is tearmd the wõrlds wide pole.'

That thou thyself, then County Palatine,
The King of Boheme, and the Austric Duke,
Sent heralds out, which basely on their knees,
In all your names, desired a truce of me?
Forgetst thou that, to have me raise my siege,
Waggons of gold were set before my tent,
Stampt with the princely fowl that in her wings
Carries the fearful thunderbolts of Jove?
How canst thou think of this, and offer war?

Sig. Vienna was besieg'd, and I was there,
Then County Palatine, but now a king,
And what we did was in extremity.
But now, Orcanes, view my royal host,
That hides these plains, and seems as vast and wide
As doth the desert of Arabia
To those that stand on Badgeth's lofty tower,
Or as the ocean to the traveller
That rests upon the snowy Appenines;
And tell me whether I should stoop so low,
Or treat of peace with the Natolian king.

Byr. Kings of Natolia and of Hungary,
We came from Turkey to confirm a league,
And not to dare each other to the field.
A friendly parle might become ye both.

Fred. And we from Europe, to the same intent;
Which if your general refuse or scorn,
Our tents are pitched, our men stand in array,
Ready to charge you ere you stir your feet.

Nat. So prest are we: but yet, if Sigismund
Speak as a friend, and stand not upon terms,

40. *ye*] *you* O_2. 41. *om.* O_3 O_4; *insert, after* 63 *Scene I.* 43. *stand*] *are* O_3 O_4.

31–2. *the desert of Arabia . . . lofty tower*] To Marlowe, looking west in imagination from Bagdad across the Euphrates, the Arabian desert was in sight. The source for this specific reference may be a map such as Ortelius, *Persicum Regium* or *Turcicum Imperium*.

45. *prest*] ready.

Here is his sword; let peace be ratified
On these conditions specified before,
Drawn with advice of our ambassadors.
Sig. Then here I sheathe it and give thee my hand,
Never to draw it out, or manage arms
Against thyself or thy confederates;
But whilst I live will be at truce with thee.
Nat. But, Sigismund, confirm it with an oath,
And swear in sight of heaven and by thy Christ.
Sig. By him that made the world and sav'd my soul,
The son of God and issue of a maid,
Sweet Jesus Christ, I solemnly protest
And vow to keep this peace inviolable.
Nat. By sacred Mahomet, the friend of God,
Whose holy Alcaron remains with us,
Whose glorious body, when he left the world,
Closed in a coffin mounted up the air,
And hung on stately Mecca's temple roof,
I swear to keep this truce inviolable!
Of whose conditions and our solemn oaths,
Sign'd with our hands, each shall retain a scroll,
As memorable witness of our league.
Now, Sigismund, if any Christian king
Encroach upon the confines of thy realm,
Send word, Orcanes of Natolia
Confirm'd this league beyond Danubius' stream,
And they will, trembling, sound a quick retreat;
So am I fear'd among all nations.
Sig. If any heathen potentate or king
Invade Natolia, Sigismund will send
A hundred thousand horse train'd to the war,
And back'd by stout lanceres of Germany,

51. *or*] *and* O_3 O_4. 78. *by*] *with* O_3 O_4.

55–9. *swear . . . inviolable*] With this oath we may compare Bonfinius's account of the pact between Amurath II and the Christians (*Rerum Ungaricarum*, Dec. III. Lib. vi. and see *Introduction*).

The strength and sinews of the imperial seat.
Orc. I thank thee, Sigismund; but when I war,
All Asia Minor, Africa, and Greece
Follow my standard and my thundering drums.
Come, let us go and banquet in our tents:
I will despatch chief of my army hence
To fair Natolia and to Trebizon,
To stay my coming 'gainst proud Tamburlaine:
Friend Sigismund, and peers of Hungary,
Come, banquet and carouse with us a while,
And then depart we to our territories. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III

CALLAPINE *with* ALMEDA *his keeper.*

Call. Sweet Almeda, pity the ruthful plight
Of Callapine, the son of Bajazeth,
Born to be monarch of the western world,
Yet here detain'd by cruel Tamburlaine.
Alm. My lord, I pity it, and with my heart
Wish your release; but he whose wrath is death,
My sovereign lord, renowmed Tamburlaine,
Forbids you further liberty than this.
Call. Ah, were I now but half so eloquent
To paint in words what I'll perform in deeds,
I know thou wouldst depart from hence with me!
Alm. Not for all Afric; therefore move me not.
Call. Yet hear me speak, my gentle Almeda.
Alm. No speech to that end, by your favour, sir.
Call. By Cario runs—

84. *I will dispatch . . . hence*] This was, in effect, precisely what the historical Amurath II did, withdrawing his forces from the west to lead them against the King of Carmania.

Scene iii.

3. *The western world*] The Turkish empire is the 'western world' from the Asiatic point of view.

15. *Cario*] The reading of the octavos, emended by Robinson and others to 'Cairo', is here retained, though Cairo indeed appears to be meant.

Alm. No talk of running, I tell you, sir.
Call. A little further, gentle Almeda.
Alm. Well sir, what of this?
Call. By Cario runs to Alexandria bay
Darotes' streams, wherein at anchor lies
A Turkish galley of my royal fleet,
Waiting my coming to the river side,
Hoping by some means I shall be released;
Which, when I come aboard, will hoist up sail,
And soon put forth into the Terrene sea,
Where, 'twixt the isles of Cyprus and of Crete,
We quickly may in Turkish seas arrive.
Then shalt thou see a hundred kings and more,
Upon their knees, all bid me welcome home.
Amongst so many crowns of burnished gold,
Choose which thou wilt, all are at thy command:
A thousand galleys, mann'd with Christian slaves,
I freely give thee, which shall cut the Straits,
And bring armadoes, from the coasts of Spain,
Fraughted with gold of rich America:
The Grecian virgins shall attend on thee,
Skilful in music and in amorous lays,
As fair as was Pygmalion's ivory girl
Or lovely Io metamorphosed:
With naked negroes shall thy coach be drawn,

Scene iii.

28. *a*] *an* O_3 O_4. 34. *from*] *to* O_2.

20. *Darotes' streams*] 'In *Africa* and *Turcicum Imperium*, Darote or Derote is a town at the bend of the westernmost arm of the Nile delta, that is, on the river-way from Cairo to Alexandria.' (Seaton, p. 28.)

34. *armadoes*] An armado (armada) was, properly, a large war vessel, though the word was more generally used of a fleet of ships of war.

Callapine, with a fine anticipation of Elizabethan piracy, imagines the ships taken on their return journey, when, on the coast of Spain, they are nearing the home ports.

38–9. *Pygmalion's ivory girl . . . metamorphosed*] Ovid, again, would give Marlowe the metamorphoses of Pygmalion's ivory statue and of Io (*Metam.*, x. 243 ff. and 1. 588 ff.), though Aeschylus's account (*Prom.*, 640–86) seems to be the source of most of the detail in later references

And, as thou rid'st in triumph through the streets,
The pavement underneath thy chariot wheels
With Turkey carpets shall be covered,
And cloth of arras hung about the walls,
Fit objects for thy princely eye to pierce;
A hundred bassoes, cloth'd in crimson silk,
Shall ride before thee on Barbarian steeds;
And, when thou goest, a golden canopy
Enchas'd with precious stones, which shine as bright
As that fair veil that covers all the world,
When Phœbus, leaping from his hemisphere,
Descendeth downward to th' Antipodes—
And more than this, for all I cannot tell.

Alm. How far hence lies the galley, say you?

Call. Sweet Almeda, scarce half a league from hence.

Alm. But need we not be spied going aboard?

Call. Betwixt the hollow hanging of a hill,
And crooked bending of a craggy rock,
The sails wrapt up, the mast and tacklings down,
She lies so close that none can find her out.

Alm. I like that well: but, tell me, my lord, if I should let you go, would you be as good as your word? shall I be made a king for my labour?

Call. As I am Callapine the emperor,
And by the hand of Mahomet I swear,
Thou shalt be crown'd a king and be my mate!

Alm. Then here I swear, as I am Almeda,
Your keeper under Tamburlaine the Great,

47. *thee*] *the* O_1.

43–4. *Turkey carpets . . . cloth of arras*] East and West are mingled in these lines. Cloth of arras was originally that made at Arras (France) and the word was used generally by the Elizabethans for any rich tapestry or tapestry hangings.

47. *Barbarian steeds*] Barbary horses, the familiar 'barbs' of the Elizabethans. The N.E.D. cites Blundeville, *Horsemanship* (1580): 'Those horses which we commonly call Barbarians, do come out of the king of Tunis land.'

56. *need we not?*] shall we not inevitably?

61–3. *I like . . . labour*] The lapse into prose is suspicious.

(For that's the style and title I have yet,)
Although he sent a thousand armed men
To intercept this haughty enterprise,
Yet would I venture to conduct your grace,
And die before I brought you back again!

Call. Thanks, gentle Almeda; then let us haste,
Lest time be past, and lingering let us both.

Alm. When you will, my lord; I am ready.

Call. Even straight: and farewell, cursed Tamburlaine!
Now go I to revenge my father's death. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV

TAMBURLAINE, *with* ZENOCRATE, *and his three sons,* CALYPHAS, AMYRAS, *and* CELEBINUS, *with drums and trumpets.*

Tamb. Now, bright Zenocrate, the world's fair eye,
Whose beams illuminate the lamps of heaven,
Whose cheerful looks do clear the cloudy air,
And clothe it in a crystal livery,
Now rest thee here on fair Larissa plains,
Where Egypt and the Turkish empire parts,

75. *let*] hinder.

Scene iv.

Heading Scene IV] *Scena* 6 O_4.

Scene iv.

5. *Larissa plains*] Broughton suggested that this was the district referred to by Milton:

'. . . from the bordering flood
' Of old Euphrates and the brook that parts
' Egypt from Syrian ground '
(*P.L.*, I. 419–20.)

and Miss Seaton comments upon the passage: ' It is, in fact, by the brook itself, but Marlowe's exact description of the site has been obscured by the frequent omission of the comma after *parts*, that in the Octavo of 1590 completes the needed isolation of the line. It gives the exact position in which we find Larissa in the map of the Turkish Empire, a sea-coast town, south of Gaza; in the map of Africa already cited, it lies a little to the north of the dotted boundary line. It is on the biblical Brook of Egypt, and is the Rhinocolura of the classical period, the " most ancient city Larissa " of the Crusades, the El Arish of the modern map.' (*Marlowe's Map*, p. 23.)

Between thy sons, that shall be emperors,
And every one commander of a world.

Zeno. Sweet Tamburlaine, when wilt thou leave these arms,
And save thy sacred person free from scathe,
And dangerous chances of the wrathful war?

Tamb. When heaven shall cease to move on both the poles,
And when the ground, whereon my soldiers march,
Shall rise aloft and touch the horned moon;
And not before, my sweet Zenocrate.
Sit up, and rest thee like a lovely queen.
So; now she sits in pomp and majesty,
When these my sons, more precious in mine eyes
Than all the wealthy kingdoms I subdued,
Plac'd by her side, look on their mother's face.
But yet methinks their looks are amorous,
Not martial as the sons of Tamburlaine;
Water and air, being symbolised in one,
Argue their want of courage and of wit;
Their hair as white as milk and soft as down,
Which should be like the quills of porcupines,
As black as jet and hard as iron or steel,
Bewrays they are too dainty for the wars;
Their fingers made to quaver on a lute,
Their arms to hang about a lady's neck,
Their legs to dance and caper in the air,
Would make me think them bastards, not my sons,
But that I know they issued from thy womb,

25. *and*] *as* O_3 O_4.

21–2 *But yet . . . martial*] The misgivings of Tamburlaine and the fulfilment of his fears in the character of Calyphas (III. ii. *passim* and IV. i) may be traced to the accounts of the dissolution of Tamburlaine's empire through the weakness of his successors. They have also a dramatic value here, introducing that hint of frustration and anxiety which grows more definite as this part of the play progresses.

23–4. *Water and air . . . wit*] The moist and cold qualities of water (corresponding to the phlegmatic humour) and the moist and hot qualities of air (corresponding to the sanguine humour) argue ill for the temperament which is overbalanced in these directions and lacks the firmness and fierceness due to a just admixture of the bile and choler (earth and fire).

That never look'd on man but Tamburlaine.
Zeno. My gracious lord, they have their mother's looks,
But, when they list, their conquering father's heart.
This lovely boy, the youngest of the three,
Not long ago bestrid a Scythian steed,
Trotting the ring, and tilting at a glove,
Which when he tainted with his slender rod,
He rein'd him straight, and made him so curvet
As I cried out for fear he should have faln.
Tamb. Well done, my boy! thou shalt have shield and lance.
Armour of proof, horse, helm, and curtle-axe,
And I will teach thee how to charge thy foe,
And harmless run among the deadly pikes.
If thou wilt love the wars and follow me,
Thou shalt be made a king and reign with me,
Keeping in iron cages emperors.
If thou exceed thy elder brothers' worth,
And shine in complete virtue more than they,
Thou shalt be king before them, and thy seed
Shall issue crowned from their mother's womb.
Cel. Yes, father; you shall see me, if I live,
Have under me as many kings as you,
And march with such a multitude of men
As all the world shall tremble at their view.
Tamb. These words assure me, boy, thou art my son.
When I am old and cannot manage arms,
Be thou the scourge and terror of the world.
Amy. Why may not I, my lord, as well as he,
Be term'd the scourge and terror of the world?

57. *shall*] *should* O_4. 58. *words*] *word* O_3. 62. *of*] *to* O_4.

40. *tainted*] originally a technical term of the tilt yard, meaning touched or struck, and so used here. A less strictly technical usage is cited by the N.E.D.: 'The Enemie tainted fower of them with Shot of one Harquebouse' (1583) and Macbeth's use of the intransitive verb 'I cannot taint with fear' is more general still.

44. *Armour of proof*] armour of metal which has been tested.

51. *virtue*] power, courage.

Tamb. Be all a scourge and terror to the world,
Or else you are not sons of Tamburlaine.
Caly. But while my brothers follow arms, my lord,
Let me accompany my gracious mother.
They are enough to conquer all the world,
And you have won enough for me to keep.
Tamb. Bastardly boy, sprung from some coward's loins,
And not the issue of great Tamburlaine,
Of all the provinces I have subdued
Thou shalt not have a foot, unless thou bear
A mind courageous and invincible;
For he shall wear the crown of Persia
Whose head hath deepest scars, whose breast most wounds,
Which, being wroth, sends lightning from his eyes,
And in the furrows of his frowning brows
Harbours revenge, war, death and cruelty;
For in a field, whose superficies
Is covered with a liquid purple veil,
And sprinkled with the brains of slaughtered men,
My royal chair of state shall be advanc'd;
And he that means to place himself therein,
Must armed wade up to the chin in blood.
Zeno. My lord, such speeches to our princely sons
Dismays their minds before they come to prove
The wounding troubles angry war affords.
Cel. No, madam, these are speeches fit for us;
For, if his chair were in a sea of blood,
I would prepare a ship and sail to it,

63. *to*] *of* O_4. 79. *superficies*] *Rob. etc superfluities* O_{1-4}.

65–8. *But while . . . to keep*] The remarks of Calyphas, though utterly out of harmony with the mood Tamburlaine's spirit enforces on the play, have a note of sound sense which tempts one to believe that Marlowe, through him, is forestalling criticism.

79 *superficies*] Robinson's conjecture is confirmed by the occurrence of the word in Paul Ive's *Practise of Fortification*, in a passage which Marlowe used in the third Act of this part. See *Introduction*, p. 45 (*note*) ff.

Ere I would lose the title of a king.
Amy. And I would strive to swim through pools of blood,
Or make a bridge of murdered carcasses,
Whose arches should be fram'd with bones of Turks,
Ere I would lose the title of a king.
Tamb. Well, lovely boys, you shall be emperors both,
Stretching your conquering arms from east to west:
And, sirra, if you mean to wear a crown,
When we shall meet the Turkish deputy
And all his viceroys, snatch it from his head,
And cleave his pericranion with thy sword.
Caly. If any man will hold him, I will strike,
And cleave him to the channel with my sword.
Tamb. Hold him, and cleave him too, or I'll cleave thee;
For we will march against them presently.
Theridamas, Techelles and Casane
Promised to meet me on Larissa plains,
With hosts apiece against this Turkish crew;
For I have sworn by sacred Mahomet
To make it parcel of my empery.
The trumpets sound. Zenocrate they come.

SCENE V

Enter THERIDAMAS, *and his train, with drums and trumpets.*

Tamb. Welcome Theridamas, king of Argier.
Ther. My lord, the great and mighty Tamburlaine,
Arch-monarch of the world, I offer here
My crown, myself, and all the power I have,

96. *you*] *ye* O_2 O_4. 101. *pericranion*] *pecicranion* O_{1-4}.

103. *channel*] The channel-bone or collar-bone. The stroke is suggestive of Homeric or of medieval warfare and weapons rather than of Scythian

Scene v.

In accordance with the division of the octavos, the entries of Theridamas, Techelles and Usumcasane mark fresh scenes, though there is no change of place. Such division is a classical usage and it may here represent Marlowe's intention.

In all affection at thy kingly feet.
Tamb. Thanks, good Theridamas.
Ther. Under my colours march ten thousand Greeks,
And of Argier and Afric's frontier towns
Twice twenty thousand valiant men-at-arms;
All which have sworn to sack Natolia.
Five hundred brigandines are under sail,
Meet for your service on the sea, my lord,
That, launching from Argier to Tripoly,
Will quickly ride before Natolia,
And batter down the castles on the shore.
Tamb. Well said, Argier! receive thy crown again.

SCENE VI

Enter TECHELLES *and* USUMCASANE *together.*

Tamb. Kings of Moroccus and of Fesse, welcome.
Usum. Magnificent and peerless Tamburlaine,
I and my neighbour king of Fesse have brought,
To aid thee in this Turkish expedition,
A hundred thousand expert soldiers;
From Azamor to Tunis near the sea
Is Barbary unpeopled for thy sake,
And all the men in armour under me,
Which with my crown I gladly offer thee.
Tamb. Thanks, king of Moroccus: take your crown again.

11. *brigandines*] brigantines were small and easily handled vessels that could be sailed or rowed They were frequently used by the Mediterranean sailor and had little resemblance to the modern brigantine.

Scene vi

3–22. *I and my neighbour . . for thy sake*] On the place-names in this passage Miss Seaton remarks: 'In the same map [*Africa*] Marlowe would find the towns conquered by Techelles and Usumcasane in the north of Africa: Azamor, Fes, Tesella (south of Oran), the province Gualata, and *Canarie Insule*. Just as he shortened Manicongo into Manico for his metre, so he here shortens Biledulgerid into Biledull' . . . [l 21]. 'Estrecho de Gilbraltar, here, and in *Europe* and *Spain*, gives him "the narrow straight of Gibralter" [l. 53], 'so that it is not necessary even for the metre to replace this form by that of *Tamburlaine*, Part I, Jubaltér' (p 29)

Tech. And, mighty Tamburlaine, our earthly god,
Whose looks make this inferior world to quake,
I here present thee with the crown of Fesse,
And with an host of Moors trained to the war,
Whose coal-black faces make their foes retire,
And quake for fear, as if infernal Jove,
Meaning to aid thee in these Turkish arms,
Should pierce the black circumference of hell,
With ugly Furies bearing fiery flags,
And millions of his strong tormenting spirits;
From strong Tesella unto Biledull
All Barbary is unpeopled for thy sake.

Tamb. Thanks, king of Fesse; take here thy crown again.
Your presence, loving friends and fellow kings,
Makes me to surfeit in conceiving joy;
If all the crystal gates of Jove's high court
Were opened wide, and I might enter in
To see the state and majesty of heaven,
It could not more delight me than your sight.
Now will we banquet on these plains a while,
And after march to Turkey with our camp,
In number more than are the drops that fall
When Boreas rents a thousand swelling clouds;
And proud Orcanes of Natolia
With all his viceroys shall be so afraid,

Scene vi.

14. *war*] *warres* O_3 O_4. 16. *if*] *if the* O_4 17. *thee*] *Rob. them* O_{1-4}. *these*] *this* O_1 O_2

14–15. *Moors . . . coal black faces*] The faces of Moors would hardly be coal-black; the description applies rather to Nubians or some other negro race of Africa. But the term 'Moor' was loosely used by most of the writers from whom Marlowe drew his information.

16. *infernal Jove*] Hades, or Pluto, in his capacity as ruler of the infernal regions, is sometimes, as here, called 'Jovis inferum'. The Furies then are in his immediate service. These beings are frequently represented as bearing firebrands See especially Ovid, *Her*, XI. 103–4; *Metam.*, VI. 430 and Cicero, *de Leg.*, I. 14, 40.

26. *Jove's high court*] Here the supreme ruler of the heavens, Zeus or Jupiter is meant.

33. For Boreas, see I, I. ii. 205 and note.

That, though the stones, as at Deucalion's flood,
Were turned to men, he should be overcome.
Such lavish will I make of Turkish blood,
That Jove shall send his winged messenger
To bid me sheathe my sword and leave the field;
The sun, unable to sustain the sight,
Shall hide his head in Thetis' watery lap,
And leave his steeds to fair Böotes' charge;
For half the world shall perish in this fight.
But now, my friends, let me examine ye;
How have ye spent your absent time from me?

Usum. My lord, our men of Barbary have marched
Four hundred miles with armour on their backs,
And lain in leaguer fifteen months and more;
For, since we left you at the Soldan's court,
We have subdued the southern Guallatia,
And all the land unto the coast of Spain;
We kept the narrow Strait of Gibraltar,
And made Canarea call us kings and lords;
Yet never did they recreate themselves,
Or cease one day from war and hot alarms;
And therefore let them rest a while, my lord.

Tamb. They shall, Casane, and 'tis time, i'faith.

Tech. And I have march'd along the river Nile
To Machda, where the mighty Christian priest,

36–7. *stones . . . turn'd to men*] Ovid describes the rebirth of the race of men after the flood from the stones thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha in *Metam.*, I. 318 ff.

41–3. *The sun . . . leave his steeds*] Ovid (*Metam.*, II. 1 ff) describes the chariot and steeds of the sun, with which he drives across the heavens to sink into the Ocean in the West.

43. For Bootes, see I, 1. ii 206 and note.

49. *leaguer*] was a military term originally imported from the Low Countries. To lie in leaguer was to lie in camp, particularly in a camp that was engaged in a siege.

60 *seq. To Machda . . unto Damasco*] The names in Techelles' march from Machda to Damasco have long troubled Marlowe's critics. Broughton and others emend 'Western' (l. 68) to 'Eastern', Cunningham adding a note upon the general weakness of Marlowe's geographical knowledge revealed by this passage and by I. i 37 above. Miss Seaton has shown that Marlowe follows carefully the map of Africa in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, even to the smallest details. In looking at this map,

Call'd John the Great, sits in a milk-white robe,
Whose triple mitre I did take by force,
And made him swear obedience to my crown.
From thence unto Cazates did I march,
Where Amazonians met me in the field,
With whom, being women, I vouchsafed a league,
And with my power did march to Zanzibar,
The western part of Afric, where I view'd
The Ethiopian sea, rivers and lakes,
But neither man nor child in all the land.
Therefore I took my course to Manico,

she explains, ' The eye is drawn to Machda, an Abyssinian town on a tributary of the Nile, by the neighbouring note: *Hic longe lateq; imperitat magnus princeps Presbiter Iões totius Africę potentiss: Rex.* . . . Where the Nile rises in a great unnamed lake, the district Cafates has for its chief town Cazates, and is called *Amazonum regio.* Then comes the crux: (ll. 67–70) Beside Cape Negro appears in large print the province-name ZANZIBAR, with the note: *hęc pars Africę meridionalis quę veteribus incognita fuit, a Persis Arabibusq; scriptoribus vocatur.* Between this western part and South America the sea is named *Oceanus Aethiopicus* in flourished letters; in the province small rivers abound, and to north and south of the name Zanzibar is that word so useful to the cartographer in difficulties, *Deserta.* Marlowe, it must be observed, is therefore vindicated when he speaks of Zanzibar as not *on* the western coast, but as itself the western part. He is equally explicit later, when Tamburlaine examines his map and accepts his general's conquests as his own; reversing the actual order of march he passes

along the Ethiopian sea,
Cutting the Tropicke line of *Capricorne,*
I conquered all as far as *Zansibar.*
(Part II, v. iii.)

' Actually the name Zanzibar is to the north of the Tropic, but the coloured maps make it clear that the province includes the whole southern portion of the continent, from Cape Negro to the Cape of Good Hope and so round to Mozambique. In this location of the province Zanzibar, or more commonly Zanguebar, on the western coast, Ortelius is at variance with many contemporary authorities, and the map of Africa by Gastaldo (1564) which otherwise he followed very closely, does not include it at all. . . . In any case, the responsibility for that oft-emended *western* rests with Ortelius, not with our Marlowe

' Techelles has reached his southernmost point; turning northwards, he passes successively through Manico, by the coast of Byather, and so " to *Cubar,* where the Negros dwell ". On the map, Manico, curtailed by Marlowe for his metre, appears in full style as the province Manicongo, Byather the province in its more correct and modern form of Biafar, while above the province and town of Guber is printed in bold type *Nigritarum Regio.* . . . Borno, the chief town of Nubia, lies near the shore of *Borno lacus,* that " *Borno* Lake " which Tamburlaine himself mentions later. . . . One can almost follow Marlowe's finger travelling down the page as he plans the campaign.' (*Marlowe's Map,* pp. 17–18.)

Where, unresisted, I remov'd my camp;
And, by the coast of Byather, at last
I came to Cubar, where the negroes dwell,
And, conquering that, made haste to Nubia.
There, having sacked Borno, the kingly seat,
I took the king and led him bound in chains
Unto Damasco, where I stayed before.

Tamb. Well done, Techelles! What saith Theridamas?

Ther. I left the confines and the bounds of Afric,
And made a voyage into Europe,
Where, by the river Tyros, I subdu'd
Stoka, Padolia, and Codemia;
Then crossed the sea and came to Oblia,
And Nigra Silva, where the devils dance,
Which, in despite of them, I set on fire.
From thence I crossed the gulf call'd by the name
Mare Majore of th' inhabitants.
Yet shall my soldiers make no period
Until Natolia kneel before your feet.

88. *th' inhabitants*] *the inhabitants* O_3 O_4.

81 *And made . Europe*] The line is metrically defective and various emendations have been suggested: 'And thence I made' (Cunningham, Bullen), 'Europa' (Elze, Wagner).

82 *seq. by the river Tyros . th' inhabitants*] For Theridamas's line of march we may turn again to Miss Seaton's elucidation. 'With some variations of spelling that make one wonder whether Marlowe's o's and a's were almost indistinguishable, all these names cluster round the north-west shore of the Black Sea, the *Mare Magiore*. The River Tyros (the Dniester) acts as the southern boundary of the province Podalia; Stoko is on it, and Codemia lies to the north-east on another stream. Partly separating Codemia from Olbia, and thus perhaps suggesting an otherwise unnecessary sea-journey, is the thick, green, hollow square of Nigra Silva, but even in this picture atlas, there is never a devil dancing there It is disconcerting to find the Black Forest cropping up thus near Odessa, but a quotation given by Mercator in his later atlas explains both the position and the ill repute: "La Forest Hercynie va iusques a ce qu'elle aye atteint les derniers Tartares, ou elle se nomme la Forest noire ou obscure, sans bornes, sans chemins, ny sentiers fraiez · et tant pour la cruauté des bestes farouches, que pour *les monstrueuses terreurs des Faunes espouventables*, du tout inaccessible aux humains." (Footnote. "French text of 1619, p. 227 Cf A. H Gilbert, *A Geographical Dictionary of Milton*, s v Hercynian Wilderness")' (*Marlowe's Map*, p. 29.)

Tamb. Then will we triumph, banquet, and carouse;
Cooks shall have pensions to provide us cates,
And glut us with the dainties of the world;
Lachryma Christi and Calabrian wines
Shall common soldiers drink in quaffing bowls,
Ay, liquid gold, when we have conquer'd him,
Mingled with coral and with orient pearl.
Come, let us banquet and carouse the whiles. [*Exeunt.*

Finis Actus primi.

97. *orient*] *Rob etc.* *oriental(l)* O_{1-4}

94. *Lachryma Christi*] is a sweet South Italian wine. The earliest reference cited by the N E D. is that of Coryat (*Crudities*, 1611) which Marlowe's antedates by twenty odd years.

97 *orient*] Robinson's conjecture, followed by most later editors, for oriental(l) of the octavos; 'orient' is so common an epithet for pearl that the conjecture carries considerable weight.

ACT II

SCENE I

SIGISMUND, FREDERICK, BALDWIN, *with their train.*

Sig. Now say, my lords of Buda and Bohemia,
What motion is it that inflames your thoughts,
And stirs your valours to such sudden arms?
Fred. Your majesty remembers, I am sure,
What cruel slaughter of our Christian bloods
These heathenish Turks and pagans lately made
Betwixt the city Zula and Danubius;
How through the midst of Verna and Bulgaria,
And almost to the very walls of Rome,
They have, not long since, massacred our camp.
It resteth now, then, that your majesty
Take all advantages of time and power,
And work revenge upon these infidels.
Your highness knows, for Tamburlaine's repair,
That strikes a terror to all Turkish hearts,
Natolia hath dismissed the greatest part
Of all his army, pitched against our power
Betwixt Cutheia and Orminius' mount,

Act II. Scene i.

18. *Cutheia*] *Cuthea* O_3-O_4.

Act II. Scene i.

7–9. *Zula . . . Rome*] 'Zula,' Miss Seaton remarks, 'which has vanished from the average modern map, appears in the *Europe* of Ortelius to the north of the Danube, in the province of Rascia; the same map offers a possible explanation of that puzzling *Rome*, which cannot mean Rome though it may mean Constantinople: the word may have been suggested by ROMA in large type just north of Constantinople, violently and ludicrously separated from its NIA.' (*Marlowe's Map*, p. 30.)

18. *Betwixt . . . mount*] Miss Seaton (*R.E.S.*) points out that these forms are not those of Ortelius ('Chiutaie' and 'Hor-

And sent them marching up to Belgasar,
Acantha, Antioch, and Cæsarea,
To aid the kings of Soria and Jerusalem.
Now, then, my lord, advantage take hereof,
And issue suddenly upon the rest;
That, in the fortune of their overthrow,
We may discourage all the pagan troop
That dare attempt to war with Christians.

Sig. But calls not, then, your grace to memory
The league we lately made with King Orcanes,
Confirm'd by oath and articles of peace,
And calling Christ for record of our truths?
This should be treachery and violence
Against the grace of our profession.

Bald. No whit, my lord; for with such infidels,

20. *Acantha*] *Acanthia* O_3. 22 *hereof*] *thereof* O_2 *heereof* O_4.

minius'), but of Lonicerus (1578, I. f. 28, 1584, I. p 50): 'Hunc magno proelio superatum, atque in fugam conjectum, festinoque advolatu obrutum ac circumfessum conclusit intra Cutheiam urbem ad Orminium montem, in veteri Caucorum sede, quae urbs totius Asiae minoris umbilicus ac magistri equitum Anatoliae sedes est.' The passage refers to a later battle and the detail has clearly been lifted by Marlowe from its setting, like many others, to give a misleading effect of definition to this unhistorical battle. In the earlier article (*Marlowe's Map*) Miss Seaton comments upon the position taken up by the Natolian army: 'Marlowe does not, however, commit himself to the site of Varna for this anachronistic battle, but seems purposely to transport it into Asia Minor, and to prefer indication to precise location. The Turkish troops were in fact withdrawn into Asia Minor, and it was a lightning-move by the Sultan that hurled them back into Europe to meet the truce-breakers at Varna; Marlowe seems content to leave them in Natolia. . . . Mount Horminius is shown only in the map of *Graecia* in the *Parergon*, situated in Bithynia, east and slightly south of the modern Scutari. . . . Belgasar and Acantha appear in the map of Asia as Beglasar and Acanta in a line leading roughly south-east through Asia Minor while the former is to be found again as Begbasar in *Natolia* and as Begasar in *Turcicum Imperium*.'

33–41. *No whit . . . victory*] With the arguments used here by Baldwin and by Frederick we may compare those addressed by the Cardinal Julian to Vladislaus and the Christian leaders whom he incited to attack Amurath after the withdrawal of the main Turkish army from Europe: 'Omni in perfidium hostem arte, vi, fraudeque, uti licet, ars arte eluditur, et fraus fraude circumvenienda est. . . . Deum, quod coelesti benignitate prohibeat, si aliter feceritis, acerrimum violatae fidei fore vindicem existimate, et nihil reputate, Christo optimo maximo gratius, vobisque glorio-

In whom no faith nor true religion rests,
We are not bound to those accomplishments
The holy laws of Christendom enjoin;
But, as the faith which they profanely plight
Is not by necessary policy
To be esteem'd assurance for ourselves,
So what we vow to them should not infringe
Our liberty of arms and victory.

Sig. Though I confess the oaths they undertake
Breed little strength to our security,
Yet those infirmities that thus defame
Their faiths, their honours and their religion,
Should not give us presumption to the like.
Our faiths are sound, and must be consummate,
Religious, righteous, and inviolate.

Fred. Assure your grace, 'tis superstition
To stand so strictly on dispensive faith
And, should we lose the opportunity
That God hath given to venge our Christians' death,
And scourge their foul blasphemous paganism,
As fell to Saul, to Balaam, and the rest,
That would not kill and curse at God's command,
So surely will the vengeance of the highest,
And jealous anger of his fearful arm,
Be pour'd with rigour on our sinful heads,
If we neglect this offered victory.

Sig. Then arm, my lords, and issue suddenly,

40. *what we*] *that we* O_2. 45 *faiths*] *fame* O_4 47. *consummate*] *Dyce* [2] *etc.* *consinuate* O_{1-4}. 59. *this*] *the* O_4.

sius futurum, quam occupatas à Turca provincias omnes, humani divinique juris experti, à fera illius servitute vindicare.' (Bonfinius. *De Rer. Ung.*, Dec. III. Lib. vi. pp. 457–9.)

35. *accomplishment*] here has the sense of 'fulfilment', either of obligation or of promise.

47. *consummate*] The reading of Dyce [2] in emendation of the reading 'consinuate' of the octavos.

50. *dispensive faith*] faith which is subject to dispensation; for the setting aside of which allowance is made.

54. *Saul . . . Balaam*] See 1 *Samuel* xv. and *Numbers* xxii. and xxiii. But Marlowe's scriptural knowledge is not so sound as his knowledge of Ovid, for Balaam's position is the converse of Sigismund's.

Giving commandment to our general host,
With expedition to assail the pagan,
And take the victory our God hath given. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

ORCANES, GAZELLUS, URIBASSA, *with their train.*

Orc. Gazellus, Uribassa, and the rest,
Now will we march from proud Orminius' mount
To fair Natolia, where our neighbour kings
Expect our power and our royal presence,
T' encounter with the cruel Tamburlaine,
That nigh Larissa sways a mighty host,
And with the thunder of his martial tools
Makes earthquakes in the hearts of men and heaven.
Gaz. And now come we to make his sinews shake
With greater power than erst his pride hath felt.
An hundred kings, by scores, will bid him arms,
And hundred thousands subjects to each score:
Which, if a shower of wounding thunderbolts
Should break out of the bowels of the clouds,
And fall as thick as hail upon our heads,
In partial aid of that proud Scythian,
Yet should our courages and steeled crests,
And numbers, more than infinite, of men,
Be able to withstand and conquer him.
Uri. Methinks I see how glad the Christian king
Is made for joy of your admitted truce,
That could not but before be terrified
With unacquainted power of our host.

Scene ii.

7. *martial*] *materiall* O_3. 10. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4. 14. *Should*] *Sould* O_4. *of*] *off* O_1 O_2. 21. *your*] *our* O_3 O_4.

Scene ii.

2. *Orminius*] see i. 18 above, and note.

6. *Larissa*] see i. iv. 5 above, and note.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Arm, dread sovereign, and my noble lords!
The treacherous army of the Christians,
Taking advantage of your slender power,
Comes marching on us, and determines straight
To bid us battle for our dearest lives.
Orc. Traitors, villains, damned Christians!
Have I not here the articles of peace
And solemn covenants we have both confirm'd,
He by his Christ, and I by Mahomet?
Gaz. Hell and confusion light upon their heads,
That with such treason seek our overthrow,
And cares so little for their prophet Christ!
Orc. Can there be such deceit in Christians,
Or treason in the fleshly heart of man,
Whose shape is figure of the highest God?
Then, if there be a Christ, as Christians say,
But in their deeds deny him for their Christ,
If he be son to everliving Jove,
And hath the power of his outstretched arm,
If he be jealous of his name and honour
As is our holy prophet Mahomet,
Take here these papers as our sacrifice
And witness of thy servant's perjury!
Open, thou shining veil of Cynthia,

46. *perjury*] S.D. *He tears to pieces the articles of peace. Add. Dyce.*

29 *seq. Traitors . . . we shall have victory*] With the speeches of Orcanes and the events that follow here, we may compare the words of Amurath at the battle of Varna. The likeness is very close:

'Depromptum è sinu codicem initi sanctissimè foederis, explicat: intentis in coelum oculis, "Haec sunt" (inquit ingeminans) "Iesu Christe foedera, quae Christiani tui mecum percussere: per numen tuum sanctè jurarunt, datamque sub nomine tuo fidem violarunt, perfidè suum Deum abnegarunt. Nunc Christe, si Deus es (ut aiunt, et nos hallucinamur) tuas measque hîc injurias, te quaeso, ulciscere: et his qui sanctum tuum nomen nondum agnovere, violatae fidei poenas ostende." Vix haec dixerat . . . quum praelium . . . inclinare coepit. . . . Talis igitur poenas, exauditis Turcę imprecationibus, Deus justus à Christianis exegit.' (Bonfinius, *loc. cit*, p. 465.)

And make a passage from th' imperial heaven,
That he that sits on high and never sleeps,
Nor in one place is circumscriptible,
But everywhere fills every continent
With strange infusion of his sacred vigour,
May, in his endless power and purity,
Behold and venge this traitor's perjury!
Thou, Christ, that art esteem'd omnipotent,
If thou wilt prove thyself a perfect God,
Worthy the worship of all faithful hearts,
Be now reveng'd upon this traitor's soul,
And make the power I have left behind
Too little to defend our guiltless lives
Sufficient to discomfit and confound
The trustless force of those false Christians!
To arms, my lords! on Christ still let us cry:
If there be Christ, we shall have victory. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III

Sound to the battle, and SIGISMUND *comes out wounded.*

Sig. Discomfited is all the Christian host,
And God hath thundered vengeance from on high,
For my accursed and hateful perjury.
O just and dreadful punisher of sin,
Let the dishonour of the pains I feel
In this my mortal well-deserved wound
End all my penance in my sudden death!

63. *lords*] *Lord* O_4. 64. S.D. *Exeunt*] *Add. Rob etc. om.* O_{1-4}.

Scene iii.

Heading Scene iii] *Add. Rob. etc.* 1. *Christian*] *Christians* O_3 O_4

48 *imperial*] see I, IV. iv 30, and note

49–52. *That he that sits . . . vigour*] These fine and clear lines deserve to be compared with those on the soul in the earlier part of the play (II. vii 18–26). The two passages, taken together, furnish the best clue to Marlowe's religious thought at the period preceding the writing of *Faustus*.

And let this death, wherein to sin I die,
Conceive a second life in endless mercy!

Enter ORCANES, GAZELLUS, URIBASSA, *with others.*

Orc. Now lie the Christians bathing in their bloods,
And Christ or Mahomet hath been my friend.
Gaz. See here the perjur'd traitor Hungary,
Bloody and breathless for his villainy!
Orc. Now shall his barbarous body be a prey
To beasts and fowls, and all the winds shall breathe
Through shady leaves of every senseless tree,
Murmurs and hisses for his heinous sin.
Now scalds his soul in the Tartarian streams,
And feeds upon the baneful tree of hell,
That Zoacum, that fruit of bitterness,
That in the midst of fire is ingraffed,
Yet flourisheth as Flora in her pride,
With apples like the heads of damned fiends.
The devils there, in chains of quenchless flame
Shall lead his soul through Orcus' burning gulf,
From pain to pain, whose change shall never end.
What sayst thou yet, Gazellus, to his foil,

24 *quenchless*] *quencelesse* O_1.

Scene iii.

18–23. *Now scalds his soul . . . damned fiends*] Miss Seaton (*Fresh Sources for Marlowe*, R.E.S., Oct., 1929) has pointed out that the source for these lines is to be found in *Chronicorum Turcorum Tomi Duo* of Philippus Lonicerus (Frankfurt, 1578, 1584) and that Marlowe's 'Zoacum' (for 'ezecum') is a form peculiar to Lonicerus: 'Credunt praeterea arborem, quam vocant *Zoacum agacci*, hoc est, amaritudinis, in medio inferni, licet igni quasi infixam, florere, cuius singula poma diabolorum capitibus sint similia . . . Tum etiam diaboli ipsi ignitis eos [damnatos] catenis constrictos (ne una poenarum tormentorumque sit facies) assidue volutant.' (Lonicerus, Tom I, Lib ii, Secunda Pars, Cap xxiii *De Animarum Damnatarum Poenis*, 1578, f 64; 1584, p. 122. See Seaton, *op. cit.*, p. 386.) Lonicerus derives his account, of course, indirectly from the Koran, chapter 47.

24–6 *quenchless flame . . . never end*] It may be noticed that, the specific quotation from Lonicerus ended, Orcanes' hell becomes now that of the Christians (l 24, 26), now that of the Greeks (l 25). For Orcus, see I, III. i. 65, and note.

27–30 *foil*] disgrace. The sin of Sigismund has been referred (by Orcanes) to his God for judgment and its wickedness is clearly revealed in the punishment which has fallen upon him.

Which we referred to justice of his Christ
And to his power, which here appears as full
As rays of Cynthia to the clearest sight?
Gaz. 'Tis but the fortune of the wars, my lord,
Whose power is often prov'd a miracle.
Orc. Yet in my thoughts shall Christ be honoured,
Not doing Mahomet an injury,
Whose power had share in this our victory;
And, since this miscreant hath disgrac'd his faith,
And died a traitor both to heaven and earth,
We will both watch and ward shall keep his trunk
Amidst these plains for fowls to prey upon.
Go, Uribassa, give it straight in charge.
Uri. I will, my lord. [*Exit Urib.*
Orc. And now, Gazellus, let us haste and meet
Our army, and our brothers of Jerusalem,
Of Soria, Trebizon, and Amasia,
And happily, with full Natolian bowls
Of Greekish wine, now let us celebrate
Our happy conquest and his angry fate. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV

The arras is drawn, and ZENOCRATE *lies in her bed of state;* TAMBURLAINE *sitting by her; three* Physicians *about her bed, tempering potions;* THERIDAMAS, TECHELLES, USUMCASANE *and the three sons.*

Tamb. Black is the beauty of the brightest day;
The golden ball of heaven's eternal fire,
That danc'd with glory on the silver waves,
Now wants the fuel that inflamed his beams,
And all with faintness and for foul disgrace,
He binds his temples with a frowning cloud,
Ready to darken earth with endless night.

34. *an*] *any* O_4. 38. *shall*] *and* O_2. *trunk*] *tranke* O_2. 40. *give*] *and give* O_4.

Zenocrate, that gave him light and life,
Whose eyes shot fire from their ivory bowers,
And tempered every soul with lively heat,
Now by the malice of the angry skies,
Whose jealousy admits no second mate,
Draws in the comfort of her latest breath,
All dazzled with the hellish mists of death.
Now walk the angels on the walls of heaven,
As sentinels to warn th' immortal souls
To entertain divine Zenocrate:
Apollo, Cynthia, and the ceaseless lamps
That gently look'd upon this loathsome earth,
Shine downwards now no more, but deck the heavens
To entertain divine Zenocrate:
The crystal springs, whose taste illuminates
Refined eyes with an eternal sight,
Like tried silver run through Paradise
To entertain divine Zenocrate:
The cherubins and holy seraphins,
That sing and play before the King of Kings,
Use all their voices and their instruments
To entertain divine Zenocrate:
And in this sweet and curious harmony,
The god that tunes this music to our souls
Holds out his hand in highest majesty
To entertain divine Zenocrate.
Then let some holy trance convey my thoughts
Up to the palace of th' imperial heaven,

Scene iv.

9. *their*] *om.* O_3. 19. *this*] *the* O_3 O_4.

Scene iv.

9. *bowers*] the reading of the octavos; Dyce would have substituted 'brows': Cunningham suggested that 'the eyes of Zenocrate were embowered in her ivory skin'.

22–4. *The crystal springs . . . Paradise*] Lines again characteristic of Marlowe, the river 'the streams whereof make glad the City of God' mingling with the waters of Aganippe.

35. *imperial*] see I, IV. iv. 30, and note.

That this my life may be as short to me
As are the days of sweet Zenocrate.
Physicians, will no physic do her good?

First Phys. My lord, your majesty shall soon perceive,
And if she pass this fit, the worst is past.

Tamb. Tell me, how fares my fair Zenocrate?

Zeno. I fare, my lord, as other empresses,
That, when this frail and transitory flesh
Hath sucked the measure of that vital air
That feeds the body with his dated health,
Wanes with enforced and necessary change.

Tamb. May never such a change transform my love,
In whose sweet being I repose my life,
Whose heavenly presence, beautified with health,
Gives light to Phœbus and the fixed stars,
Whose absence makes the sun and moon as dark
As when, oppos'd in one diameter,
Their spheres are mounted on the serpent's head,
Or else descended to his winding train.
Live still, my love, and so conserve my life,
Or, dying, be the author of my death.

Zeno. Live still, my lord; O, let my sovereign live!

38. *no*] *not* O_2. 43. *and*] *a* O_2. 56. *author*] *anchor* O_{1-3}.

42–6 *I fare, my lord . . . change*] The character of Zenocrate has been slightly but clearly drawn throughout. Not the least of her functions is this insistence upon the frailty of man and the transience of his glory. Even when living in the world of Tamburlaine whose hand turns Fortune's wheel about, Marlowe is never unaware of the presence of this wistful melancholy. He never attempted fully to harmonize the two; *Tamburlaine* proclaims one theme while the later *Edward II* is pervaded by that of Zenocrate, so strictly subordinated here.

45. *dated*] limited, having its end, preordained. Cf I, II. vi. 37.

152–4. The positions of the sun and moon in an eclipse are here described. The eclipse of the moon occurs when it is 'opposite' to the sun on the same diameter, i.e. when the earth intervenes. I am indebted to F. L. Lucas for pointing out (*Cambridge Review*, 1930) that the 'serpent' is the Dragon of astrology, i.e. the part of the moon's apparent path south of the ecliptic. The two places where that path intersects the ecliptic are the Dragon's Head and the Dragon's Tail.

56. *author*] the reading of O_4 is followed by Dyce and many later editors. If 'anchor' of O_{1-3} is retained, the line can be interpreted, as Wagner points out, 'Draw on my death through thine.'

And sooner let the fiery element
Dissolve, and make your kingdom in the sky,
Than this base earth should shroud your majesty;
For, should I but suspect your death by mine,
The comfort of my future happiness,
And hope to meet your highness in the heavens,
Turn'd to despair, would break my wretched breast,
And fury would confound my present rest.
But let me die, my love; yet, let me die;
With love and patience let your true love die:
Your grief and fury hurts my second life.
Yet let me kiss my lord before I die,
And let me die with kissing of my lord.
But, since my life is lengthened yet a while,
Let me take leave of these my loving sons,
And of my lords, whose true nobility
Have merited my latest memory.
Sweet sons, farewell; in death resemble me,
And in your lives your father's excellency.
Some music, and my fit will cease, my lord.

[*They call music.*

Tamb. Proud fury and intolerable fit,
That dares torment the body of my love,
And scourge the scourge of the immortal God!
Now are those spheres, where Cupid used to sit,
Wounding the world with wonder and with love,
Sadly supplied with pale and ghastly death,
Whose darts do pierce the centre of my soul.
Her sacred beauty hath enchanted heaven,
And had she liv'd before the siege of Troy,
Helen, whose beauty summoned Greece to arms,
And drew a thousand ships to Tenedos,

60. *Than*] *Then* O_3 O_4. 65. *And*] *an* O_3. 76. *excellency*] *excellence* O_3 O_4. 77. S.D. *call*] *call for* O_3 O_4.

88. *And drew . . . Tenedos*] An anticipation of *Faustus*, l. 1328. 'Is this the face that launched a thousand ships.'

Had not been nam'd in Homer's Iliads,
Her name had been in every line he wrote;
Or had those wanton poets, for whose birth
Old Rome was proud, but gazed a while on her,
Nor Lesbia nor Corinna had been nam'd,
Zenocrate had been the argument
Of every epigram or elegy.

[*The music sounds and she dies.*

What, is she dead? Techelles, draw thy sword,
And wound the earth, that it may cleave in twain,
And we descend into th' infernal vaults,
To hale the fatal Sisters by the hair,
And throw them in the triple moat of hell,
For taking hence my fair Zenocrate.
Casane and Theridamas, to arms!
Raise cavalieros higher than the clouds,
And with the cannon break the frame of heaven;
Batter the shining palace of the sun,
And shiver all the starry firmament,
For amorous Jove hath snatched my love from hence,
Meaning to make her stately queen of heaven.

93. *Lesbia nor Corinna*] These names, which came, in time, to be almost typical, are associated chiefly with the love poetry of Horace, Ovid and Catullus Corinna appears in twelve of the Elegies of Ovid which Marlowe had translated at some date slightly earlier than that of *Tamburlaine*.

100. *the triple moat of hell*] seems to be Marlowe's own addition to our conception of infernal geography, probably suggested by Virgil's lines (*Aen.*, VI. 548 ff.) on the triple wall of hell:

'sub rupe sinistra
moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro,
quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon.'

It is interesting to compare also Dante's references to the walls and moats of hell (*Inf.*, VIII. 74 and XVIII. 1 ff.).

103. *cavalieros*] according to Cunningham, 'mound(s) for cannon, elevated above the rest of the works of a fortress, as a horseman is raised above a foot-soldier.' Danchin (*Rev. Germ.*) quotes R. P. Millet, *L'Art de fortifier* (1683), p. 16: 'Des terrasses élevées pardessus le Rempart pour y loger le canon. On les appelle ainsi à cause qu'elles sont autant élevées pardessus les autres ouvrages qu'un Cavalier par-dessus un homme de pied.'

105. *palace of the sun*] the palace of Helios is described by the later classical poets as lying in the east; in many cases, he has another palace in the west, where he goes to rest at night.

What god soever holds thee in his arms,
Giving thee nectar and ambrosia,
Behold me here, divine Zenocrate,
Raving, impatient, desperate and mad,
Breaking my steeled lance, with which I burst
The rusty beams of Janus' temple doors,
Letting out death and tyrannising war,
To march with me under this bloody flag!
And, if thou pitiest Tamburlaine the Great,
Come down from heaven and live with me again!

Ther. Ah, good my lord, be patient! she is dead,
And all this raging cannot make her live.
If words might serve, our voice hath rent the air;
If tears, our eyes have watered all the earth;
If grief, our murdered hearts have strained forth blood.
Nothing prevails, for she is dead, my lord.

Tamb. For she is dead! thy words do pierce my soul:
Ah, sweet Theridamas, say so no more;
Though she be dead, yet let me think she lives,
And feed my mind that dies for want of her.
Where'er her soul be, thou shalt stay with me,
Embalm'd with cassia, amber greece, and myrrh,
Not lapt in lead, but in a sheet of gold,
And, till I die, thou shalt not be interr'd.
Then in as rich a tomb as Mausolus
We both will rest and have one epitaph

129. *Thou* S.D. *To the body*] *Add Dyce.* 132 *shalt*] *shall* O_4 134 *one*] *on* O_2 *our* O_4.

114–15. *Janus' temple-doors . . . war*] Marlowe appears to refer to the covered passage near the Forum known sometimes as the Temple of Janus, whose doors stood open in time of war, to symbolize the absence with the fighting forces of the presiding deity, and were shut in time of peace so that the God of the city might not escape. Janus was never a god of war, as Marlowe's lines almost imply, but a tutelary deity of Rome, originally apparently a sun-god.

125–8. *For she is dead! . . . want of her*] There is fine understanding, beyond the reach of the earlier play, in these lines. It has departed entirely from the picture of Tamburlaine offered by the western sources.

130. *amber greece*] ambergris. The reading of the octavos is retained.

133. *Mdusŏlus*] a false quantity, rare with Marlowe.

Writ in as many several languages
As I have conquered kingdoms with my sword.
This cursed town will I consume with fire,
Because this place bereft me of my love;
The houses, burnt, will look as if they mourn'd;
And here will I set up her stature
And march about it with my mourning camp,
Drooping and pining for Zenocrate.

[*The arras is drawn.*

140. *stature*] *statue* O_3 O_4.

140. *stature*] There seems to be a genuine confusion between 'stature' and 'statue' (qy. 'statua'?) in this text and note. See Part I, IV. II 105,

ACT III

SCENE I

Enter the KINGS OF TREBIZOND *and* SORIA, *one bringing a sword and another a sceptre; next,* NATOLIA, *and* JERUSALEM *with the imperial crown; after,* CALLAPINE; *and, after him, other* Lords *and* ALMEDA. ORCANES *and* JERUSALEM *crown him, and the other give him the sceptre.*

Orc. Callapinus Cyricelibes, otherwise Cybelius, son and successive heir to the late mighty emperor Bajazeth, by the aid of God and his friend Mahomet, Emperor of Natolia, Jerusalem, Trebizon, Soria, Amasia, Thracia, Illyria, Carmonia, and all the hundred and thirty kingdoms late contributory to his mighty father,—long live Callapinus, Emperor of Turkey!

Call. Thrice worthy kings of Natolia and the rest,
I will requite your royal gratitudes
With all the benefits my empire yields;
And, were the sinews of th' imperial seat
So knit and strengthened as when Bajazeth,
My royal lord and father, filled the throne,
Whose cursed fate hath so dismembered it,
Then should you see this thief of Scythia,
This proud usurping king of Persia,
Do us such honour and supremacy,

Act III. Scene i.
Heading S.D. *and Almeda*] *Add. Dyce.* 14 *fate*] *Fates* O_4.

Act III. Scene i.
5. *Carmonia*] The more usual form of the name with contemporary writers is 'Caramania', or 'Carmania'.

Bearing the vengeance of our father's wrongs,
As all the world should blot our dignities
Out of the book of base born infamies.
And now I doubt not but your royal cares
Hath so provided for this cursed foe,
That, since the heir of mighty Bajazeth
(An emperor so honoured for his virtues)
Revives the spirits of true Turkish hearts,
In grievous memory of his father's shame,
We shall not need to nourish any doubt,
But that proud Fortune, who hath followed long
The martial sword of mighty Tamburlaine,
Will now retain her old inconstancy,
And raise our honours to as high a pitch,
In this our strong and fortunate encounter;
For so hath heaven provided my escape
From all the cruelty my soul sustained,
By this my friendly keeper's happy means,
That Jove, surcharg'd with pity of our wrongs,
Will pour it down in showers on our heads,
Scourging the pride of cursed Tamburlaine.

Orc. I have a hundred thousand men in arms;
Some that, in conquest of the perjur'd Christian,
Being a handful to a mighty host,
Think them in number yet sufficient
To drink the river Nile or Euphrates,
And for their power ynow to win the world.

Jer. And I as many from Jerusalem,

25. *of*] *of all* O_3. 31. *honours*] *honour* O_3 O_4. 40. *in*] *in the* O_3.

19. *our*] Dyce and some later editors would read 'his', but this is not the meaning and Callapine's words are clear enough. We should so triumph that the world should remove our names from the roll of infamy on which Bajazet's fall had caused them to be inscribed.

28–31. Tilley and Ray refer to the constantly recurring Elizabethan thought that 'fortune is constant only in inconstancy' which they trace to Ovid (*Trist.* v. viii. 18)

a large number of Marlowe's contemporaries.

40. *Some that . . . Christian*] Orcanes has brought with him the small but victorious host that defeated Sigismund.

45–6. *Jerusalem . . . Scalonian's bounds*] Miss Seaton comments upon this army: 'The king of Jerusalem naturally raises his [army] from "*Iudæa, Gaza* and *Scalonians* bounds"; that the town of Ascalon appears in the map as

Judæa, Gaza, and Scalonian's bounds,
That on mount Sinai, with their ensigns spread,
Look like the parti-coloured clouds of heaven
That show fair weather to the neighbour morn.
Treb. And I as many bring from Trebizon,
Chio, Famastro, and Amasia,
All bordering on the Mare-Major sea;
Riso, Sancina, and the bordering towns
That touch the end of famous Euphrates;
Whose courages are kindled with the flames
The cursed Scythian sets on all their towns,
And vow to burn the villain's cruel heart.
Sor. From Soria with seventy thousand strong,
Ta'en from Aleppo, Soldino, Tripoly,
And so unto my city of Damasco,
I march to meet and aid my neighbour kings;
All which will join against this Tamburlaine,
And bring him captive to your highness' feet.
Orc. Our battle, then, in martial manner pitched,
According to our ancient use, shall bear
The figure of the semicircled moon,
Whose horns shall sprinkle through the tainted air
The poisoned brains of this proud Scythian.
Call. Well then, my noble lords, for this my friend
That freed me from the bondage of my foe,

46. *Judæa*] *Iudea* O_3 *Iuda* O_4. *Scalonian's*] *Sclavonians* O_4.

1605 Quarto's absurd change to *Sclauonians*, apparently a confused reminiscence of the earlier enumeration of Sigismund's composite army of 'Slauonians, Almains, Rutters, Muffes, and Danes'. (*Marlowe's Map*, pp. 29–30.)

50–4. *from Trebizon . . . Euphrates*] 'For the king of Trebizond, Marlowe's finger traces from west to east the northern seaboard of Asia Minor: Chia, Famastro, Amasia (here the province only), Trebisonda, Riso, Santina.' (*Marlowe's Map*, p 30.)

58–60. *Soria . . Damasco*] 'For the king of Soria, he passes from Aleppo south-westward to the sea-coast near Cyprus, and chooses Soldino and Tripoli, and so inland again to Damasco; and in passing it may be said that this form Damasco, which is that of four out of five of the modern maps in the *Theatrum*, replaces in Part II, except for a single genitive use, the form Damascus, regular in Part I.' (*Marlowe's Map*, p. 30.)

I think it requisite and honourable
To keep my promise and to make him king,
That is a gentleman, I know, at least.

Alm. That's no matter, sir, for being a king; for Tamburlaine came up of nothing.

Jer. Your majesty may choose some 'pointed time,
Performing all your promise to the full;
'Tis naught for your majesty to give a kingdom.

Call. Then will I shortly keep my promise, Almeda.

Alm. Why, I thank your majesty. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

TAMBURLAINE *with* USUMCASANE *and his three sons; four bearing the hearse of* ZENOCRATE, *and the drums sounding a doleful march; the town burning.*

Tamb. So, burn the turrets of this cursed town,
Flame to the highest region of the air,
And kindle heaps of exhalations,
That, being fiery meteors, may presage
Death and destruction to th' inhabitants!
Over my zenith hang a blazing star,
That may endure till heaven be dissolv'd,
Fed with the fresh supply of earthly dregs,

Scene ii.

Heading Act III, Scene ii] *Actus 2 Scaena 2* O_{1-4}

74–5. This bears every mark of a piece of actor's gag. Its prose form alone coming in the middle of a verse scene would throw suspicion on it.

Scene ii.

2–8. *Flame to . . . earthly dregs*] The astronomical and astrological implications of this passage may be briefly summed up: The flames of the burning town will rise to the top of the region of air (here thought to be next to the sphere of the moon, the innermost of the spheres) and will there kindle meteors (not clearly distinguished from comets) whose function is to presage dire events. Meanwhile directly over Tamburlaine's head (the zenith is actually the point of intersection of the circumference of the enveloping sphere and the line produced from the centre of the earth through a given point upon the earth's surface) shall hang a blazing star which will be kept alight by the other fires that he will light on earth.

Threatening a death and famine to this land!
Flying dragons, lightning, fearful thunder-claps,
Singe these fair plains, and make them seem as black
As is the island where the Furies mask,
Compassed with Lethe, Styx, and Phlegethon,
Because my dear Zenocrate is dead!

Caly. This pillar, plac'd in memory of her,
Where in Arabian, Hebrew, Greek, is writ,
This town, being burnt by Tamburlaine the Great,
Forbids the world to build it up again.

Amy. And here this mournful streamer shall be plac'd,
Wrought with the Persian and Egyptian arms,
To signify she was a princess born,
And wife unto the monarch of the East.

Cel. And here this table as a register
Of all her virtues and perfections.

Tamb. And here the picture of Zenocrate,
To show her beauty which the world admir'd;
Sweet picture of divine Zenocrate,
That, hanging here, will draw the gods from heaven,
And cause the stars fixed in the southern arc,

20. *and*] *and the* O_2.

9 *death*] Dyce would have read 'dearth' for 'death' of O_{1-4}

12–13 *the island Phlegethon*] Marlowe has the map of the underworld extremely clear in his mind I am unable to find a single source for all his details. the Island of the Furies, the Triple Moat, the Stygian Snakes and the Invisible Furies Rather, he seems to have drawn what he could from Ovid, Seneca, Cicero, Virgil and, brooding upon this, to have evoked a picture whose vividness sometimes recalls the details of Dante. Marlowe, whose knowledge of Macchiavelli, seems to suggest that he could read Italian, could, of course, have based some of his detail on Dante's descriptions, but it is hard to believe that, had he read the *Divina Comedia*, so few traces of it would be found in his poetry generally

17–18 *being*] Brereton suggested the reading 'was', but the construction is normal, the ruins of the town itself convey the message and forbid the world to rebuild it It is also possible to paraphrase 'The fact that this town was burnt by Tamburlaine, forbids. ' etc

29–32 *the stars hemisphere*] The southern stars, through their desire to see the portrait of Zenocrate, will move into the northern latitudes; *the centre's latitude*] the equator, the middle line of latitude. Marlowe uses *hemisphere* of any half of the celestial sphere, as do many of his contemporaries: modern English more generally uses it of one of the divisions made in the celestial sphere by the ecliptic.

Whose lovely faces never any viewed
That have not passed the centre's latitude,
As pilgrims travel to our hemisphere,
Only to gaze upon Zenocrate.
Thou shalt not beautify Larissa plains,
But keep within the circle of mine arms;
At every town and castle I besiege,
Thou shalt be set upon my royal tent;
And when I meet an army in the field,
Those looks will shed such influence in my camp,
As if Bellona, goddess of the war,
Threw naked swords and sulphur balls of fire
Upon the heads of all our enemies.
And now, my lords, advance your spears again;
Sorrow no more, my sweet Casane, now:
Boys, leave to mourn; this town shall ever mourn,
Being burnt to cinders for your mother's death.

Caly. If I had wept a sea of tears for her,
It would not ease the sorrow I sustain.

Amy. As is that town, so is my heart consum'd
With grief and sorrow for my mother's death.

Cel. My mother's death hath mortified my mind,
And sorrow stops the passage of my speech.

Tamb. But now, my boys, leave off, and list to me,
That mean to teach you rudiments of war.
I'll have you learn to sleep upon the ground,
March in your armour thorough watery fens,
Sustain the scorching heat and freezing cold,
Hunger and thirst, right adjuncts of the war;
And, after this, to scale a castle wall,

39. *Those*] *Dyce etc.* *whose* O_{1-4}. 48. *sorrow*] *sorrows* O_2. 56. *thorough*] *throwe* O_1. 58. *thirst*] *cold* O_{1-3}.

40. *Bellona*] the Latin goddess of war appears frequently in classical literature. See Ovid, *Metam.*, v. 155, *Fast.*, VI. 201 and Virgil, *Aen.*, VIII. 703.

41. *sulphur balls of fire*] may here refer to Greek fire or to the primitive sixteenth-century hand-grenades described in military text-books such as Paul Ive's *Practise of Fortification.*

Besiege a fort, to undermine a town,
And make whole cities caper in the air.
Then next, the way to fortify your men;
In champion grounds what figure serves you best,
For which the quinque-angle form is meet,
Because the corners there may fall more flat
Whereas the fort may fittest be assailed,
And sharpest where th' assault is desperate;
The ditches must be deep, the counterscarps
Narrow and steep, the walls made high and broad,
The bulwarks and the rampiers large and strong,
With cavalieros and thick counterforts,
And room within to lodge six thousand men.
It must have privy ditches, countermines,
And secret issuings to defend the ditch;
It must have high argins and covered ways

64. *which*] *Rob. etc. with* O_{1-4}. 67. *th' assault*] *the assault* O_3 O_4. 68. *the*] *and* O_3 O_4.

62 *seq. the way to fortify, etc*] For the connection of this lengthy excursus upon tactics and its connection with Paul Ive's *Practise of Fortification*, see *Introduction*, p. 45.

63. *champion*] see I, II. ii. 40, and note.

64. *the quinque-angle form*] This fort is in the shape of a five-pointed star, and, as Marlowe regards it, presents the pointed angles at a greater distance from the inner fortifications ('where th' assault is desperate', i.e. for the assailers) and the blunt angles, easier to defend, where the assault is most likely to be made. M. Danchin suggests that Marlowe has misunderstood Paul Ive's account of the 'quinque angle' fort. But I think rather that by 'meet' he means that it is both defensible and quick and economical to build. See *Introduction*, p. 45.

68. *counterscarps*] The walls of the ditch facing the fort. Cunningham adds the comment, 'I cannot understand the advantage of (their) being narrow.'

70. *bulwarks . . . rampiers*] are earthworks or defences of some similar material used in fortification, the rampiers (ramparts) in particular being wide enough at the top for roads, sometimes protected by parapets, to run along them.

71. *cavalieros*] See II. iv. 103, and note. *counterforts*] The N.E.D. quotes this passage and defines: 'A buttress or projecting piece of masonry to support and strengthen a wall or terrace.'

73–4. These two lines are almost a word-for-word reproduction of Paul Ive's account of fortification: 'It must also have countermines, privie ditches, secret issuinges out to defend the ditch.'

75. *argins . . . covered ways*] Cunningham explains an argin as an earthwork and adds that it 'here must mean the particular earthwork called the *glacis*'. The covered way is 'the protected road between the argin and the counterscarp'.

To keep the bulwark fronts from battery,
And parapets to hide the musketeers,
Casemates to place the great artillery,
And store of ordnance, that from every flank
May scour the outward curtains of the fort,
Dismount the cannon of the adverse part,
Murder the foe and save the walls from breach.
When this is learn'd for service on the land,
By plain and easy demonstration
I'll teach you how to make the water mount,
That you may dry-foot march through lakes and pools,
Deep rivers, havens, creeks, and little seas,
And make a fortress in the raging waves,
Fenc'd with the concave of a monstrous rock,
Invincible by nature of the place.
When this is done, then are ye soldiers,
And worthy sons of Tamburlaine the Great.

Caly. My lord, but this is dangerous to be done;
We may be slain or wounded ere we learn.

Tamb. Villain, art thou the son of Tamburlaine,
And fear'st to die, or with a curtle-axe
To hew thy flesh, and make a gaping wound?
Hast thou beheld a peal of ordnance strike
A ring of pikes, mingled with shot and horse,
Whose shattered limbs, being tossed as high as heaven,
Hang in the air as thick as sunny motes,

78. *great*] *greatst* O_4. 90. *by*] *by the* O_4. 91. *ye*] *you* O_3O_4. 96. *a*] *the* O_2.

78. *Casemates*] The N.E.D. defines 'casemate' as, 'A vaulted chamber built in the thickness of the ramparts of a fortress, with embrasures for the defence of the place, and quotes Paul Ive: 'any . . . edifice that may be made in the ditch to defend the ditch by'.

80. *curtains of the fort*] the walls joining two bastions or towers together.

99. *A ring . . . and horse*] This line presents some difficulty. As it stands it may be paraphrased, 'A ring of soldiers armed with pikes and mingled with artillery and cavalry', which does not suggest a wise military disposition. Cunningham, whose word on military matters should at least be considered, emends to 'A ring of pikes, of mingled foot and horse', while Mitford conjectures 'A ring of pikes and horse, mangled with shot'.

And canst thou, coward, stand in fear of death?
Hast thou not seen my horsemen charge the foe,
Shot through the arms, cut overthwart the hands,
Dying their lances with their streaming blood,
And yet at night carouse within my tent,
Filling their empty veins with airy wine,
That, being concocted, turns to crimson blood,
And wilt thou shun the field for fear of wounds?
View me, thy father, that hath conquered kings,
And with his host marched round about the earth,
Quite void of scars and clear from any wound,
That by the wars lost not a dram of blood,
And see him lance his flesh to teach you all.
[*He cuts his arm.*
A wound is nothing, be it ne'er so deep;
Blood is the god of war's rich livery.
Now look I like a soldier, and this wound
As great a grace and majesty to me,
As if a chair of gold enamelled,
Enchas'd with diamonds, sapphires, rubies,
And fairest pearl of wealthy India,
Were mounted here under a canopy,
And I sat down, cloth'd with the massy robe
That late adorn'd the Afric potentate,
Whom I brought bound unto Damascus' walls.
Come, boys, and with your fingers search my wound,
And in my blood wash all your hands at once,
While I sit smiling to behold the sight.
Now, my boys, what think you of a wound?

Caly. I know not what I should think of it; methinks 'tis a pitiful sight.

Cel. 'Tis nothing Give me a wound, father.

111. *his*] *this* O_3 O_4. *marched*] *martch* O_1 O_2 113 *dram*] *drop* O_2. 123. *the*] *a* O_{2-4}. 129. *you*] *ye* O_2.

107–8. Tilley and Ray consider the idea contained in these lines to be proverbial in Elizabethan writings and give a long list of parallels.

124-5 *the Afric potentate*] Bajazet, so called by virtue of his African conquests, who killed himself during Tamburlaine's siege of Damascus (I, v. ii).

Amy. And me another, my lord.
Tamb. Come, sirrah, give me your arm.
Cel. Here, father, cut it bravely, as you did your own.
Tamb. It shall suffice thou darst abide a wound;
My boy, thou shalt not lose a drop of blood
Before we meet the army of the Turk;
But then run desperate through the thickest throngs,
Dreadless of blows, of bloody wounds and death;
And let the burning of Larissa walls,
My speech of war, and this my wound you see,
Teach you, my boys, to bear courageous minds,
Fit for the followers of great Tamburlaine.
Usumcasane, now come, let us march
Towards Techelles and Theridamas,
That we have sent before to fire the towns,
The towers and cities of these hateful Turks,
And hunt that coward faint-heart runaway,
With that accursed traitor Almeda,
Till fire and sword have found them at a bay.
Usum. I long to pierce his bowels with my sword,
That hath betrayed my gracious sovereign,
That cursed and damned traitor Almeda.
Tamb. Then let us see if coward Callapine
Dare levy arms against our puissance,
That we may tread upon his captive neck,
And treble all his father's slaveries. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III

TECHELLES, THERIDAMAS, *and their train.*

Ther. Thus have we marched northward from Tamburlaine,

147. *the towns*] *Townes* O_2. 150. *accursed*] *cursed* O_2. 152. *his*] *the* O_2.

Act III. Scene iii.

Heading Scene iii] *Scaena* 1 O_{1-4}.

Scene iii. *Balsera*] 'Northward', says Cunningham, 'should no doubt be
1–3. *Thus have we marched . . .*

Unto the frontier point of Soria;
And this is Balsera, their chiefest hold,
Wherein is all the treasure of the land.

Tech. Then let us bring our light artillery,
Minions, falc'nets, and sakers, to the trench,
Filling the ditches with the walls' wide breach,
And enter in to seize upon the gold.
How say ye, soldiers, shall we not?

Soldiers. Yes, my lord, yes; come, let's about it.

Ther. But stay a while; summon a parle, drum.
It may be they will yield it quietly,
Knowing two kings, the friends to Tamburlaine.
Stand at the walls with such a mighty power.

[*Summon the battle. Captain with his wife and son.*

Capt. What require you, my masters?

Ther. Captain, that thou yield up thy hold to us.

Capt. To you! why, do you think me weary of it?

Tech. Nay, captain, thou art weary of thy life,
If thou withstand the friends of Tamburlaine.

2. *point*] *port* O_3 O_4 9 *soldiers*] *souldious* O_3 12 *quietly*] *quickely* O_4. 13 *friends*] *friend* O_1 O_2. 17 *do you*] *do thou* O_2.

southward It would not be easy to march northward to Bassorah' But Marlowe's accuracy is again vindicated by Miss Seaton: 'We have seen once already that Marlowe can be trusted in his points of the compass; if, before emending to southward, we take him on trust here, we must assume that the unknown town is on the northern or Natolian frontier of Soria, for the column has started from Larissa on the southern frontier. Ortelius can help us out with a suggestion. In the map of Natolia, especially noticeable in the coloured copies as a frontier point, is the town Passera, with the first 's' long This may well be Marlowe's Balsera. The objection occurs that the arbitrary choice of an insignificant town is not probable, but, as will be shown, Marlowe often makes just such a choice Moreover, this particular episode is a patchwork of borrowed scraps, and it seems to be his practice to situate his invented episodes in places unimpeachable by their very obscurity' (*Marlowe's Map*, p 24)

6 *Minions, falc'nets, and sakers*] All 'small pieces of ordinance', as Robinson remarks The distinctions between them are hardly relevant here, but the terms serve to show Marlowe's temporary preoccupation with military technicalities

8. *gold*] The reading of the octavos, followed by Robinson, Cunningham, and Bullen. There seems little need to emend to 'hold' with Dyce and Wagner.

Ther. These pioners of Argier in Africa,
Even in the cannon's face, shall raise a hill
Of earth and faggots higher than thy fort,
And, over thy argins and covered ways,
Shall play upon the bulwarks of thy hold
Volleys of ordinance, till the breach be made
That with his ruin fills up all the trench;
And, when we enter in, not heaven itself
Shall ransom thee, thy wife and family.
Tech. Captain, these Moors shall cut the leaden pipes
That bring fresh water to thy men and thee.
And lie in trench before thy castle walls,
That no supply of victual shall come in,
Nor [any] issue forth but they shall die;
And therefore, captain, yield it quietly.
Capt. Were you, that are the friends of Tamburlaine,
Brothers to holy Mahomet himself,
I would not yield it; therefore do your worst:
Raise mounts, batter, intrench and undermine,
Cut off the water, all convoys that can,
Yet I am resolute: and so, farewell. [*Exeunt.*
Ther. Pioners, away! and where I stuck the stake,
Intrench with those dimensions I prescribed;
Cast up the earth towards the castle wall,
Which till it may defend you, labour low,
And few or none shall perish by their shot.
Pioners. We will, my lord. [*Exeunt.*
Tech. A hundred horse shall scout about the plains,

21. *in*] *to* O_4 33. *any*] *Add Rob om* O_{1-4} 34 *quietly*] *quickely* O_4 35. *you, that are the*] *all you that are the* O_3 *all you that are* O_4. 36. *to*] *of* O_2. 40. *I am*] *am I* O_4 S D] *Add. Rob. etc.*

20–6. *These pioners . . . all the trench*] The siege methods here described are approximately those by which Tamburlaine, according to several accounts, subdued the citadel of Damascus For one of the briefer of these accounts, see Fortescue (Appendix C).

25. *ordinance*] The original spelling has been retained instead of the modern 'ordnance' as alteration here would have affected the movement of the line.

To spy what force comes to relieve the hold.
Both we, Theridamas, will intrench our men,
And with the Jacob's staff measure the height
And distance of the castle from the trench,
That we may know if our artillery
Will carry full point blank unto their walls.

Ther. Then see the bringing of our ordinance
Along the trench into the battery,
Where we will have gabions of six foot broad,
To save our cannoneers from musket shot;
Betwixt which shall our ordinance thunder forth,
And with the breach's fall, smoke, fire and dust,
The crack, the echo and the soldiers' cry,
Make deaf the air and dim the crystal sky.

Tech. Trumpets and drums, alarum presently!
And, soldiers, play the men; the hold is yours!

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV

Enter the CAPTAIN, *with his* WIFE *and* SON

Olym. Come, good my lord, and let us haste from hence,
Along the cave that leads beyond the foe;
No hope is left to save this conquered hold.

Capt. A deadly bullet gliding through my side,

55. *into*] *unto* O_4. 56. *gabions*] *Broughton etc Galions* O_1 *galions* O_2 *Gallions* O_3 O_4. 63. *hold*] *holds* O_1 O_2 S D] *Add. Rob etc.*

Scene iv.

Heading. Scene iv] *Add. Wag.* S D *Enter the*] *Enter* O_3 O_4

50. *the Jacob's staff*] An instrument, then recently invented, by which heights and distances could be measured.

56. *gabions*] The conjecture offered by Broughton, Collier, Cunningham, etc. seems unavoidable here; the consistent 'galions' of the octavos appears meaningless. Cunningham explains: 'Gabions, or cannon-baskets, are great baskets, which, being filled with earth, are placed upon the batteries,' the rough equivalent of sand-bags.

Scene iv.

On the relation between this episode and Ariosto's story of Isabella (*Orlando Furioso*, XXVIII, XXIX) see *Introduction*, pp. 44–5.

Lies heavy on my heart; I cannot live.
I feel my liver pierc'd and all my veins,
That there begin and nourish every part,
Mangled and torn, and all my entrails bath'd
In blood that straineth from their orifex.
Farewell, sweet wife! sweet son, farewell! I die.
Olym. Death, whither art thou gone, that both we live?
Come back again, sweet death, and strike us both!
One minute end our days, and one sepulchre
Contain our bodies! Death, why com'st thou not?
Well, this must be the messenger for thee.
Now, ugly death, stretch out thy sable wings,
And carry both our souls where his remains.
Tell me, sweet boy, art thou content to die?
These barbarous Scythians, full of cruelty,
And Moors, in whom was never pity found,
Will hew us piecemeal, put us to the wheel,
Or else invent some torture worse than that;
Therefore die by thy loving mother's hand,
Who gently now will lance thy ivory throat,
And quickly rid thee both of pain and life.
Son. Mother, despatch me, or I'll kill myself;
For think you I can live and see him dead?
Give me your knife, good mother, or strike home;
The Scythians shall not tyrannise on me:
Sweet mother, strike, that I may meet my father.
[*She stabs him.*
Olym. Ah, sacred Mahomet, if this be sin,
Entreat a pardon of the God of heaven,
And purge my soul before it come to thee!

Enter THERIDAMAS, TECHELLES, *and all their train.*

Ther. How now, Madam! what are you doing?

9 *straineth*] *staineth* O_2.

6–9. For Marlowe's idea of human physiology, compare I, IV. iv. 96–100, and note.

9. *orifex*] an erroneous form of 'orifice', occurring also in Shakespeare. Cf. *Tr. and Cress.*, V. ii. 151.

Olym. Killing myself, as I have done my son,
Whose body, with his father's, I have burnt,
Lest cruel Scythians should dismember him.
Tech. 'Twas bravely done, and like a soldier's wife.
Thou shalt with us to Tamburlaine the Great,
Who, when he hears how resolute thou wert,
Will match thee with a viceroy or a king.
Olym. My lord deceased was dearer unto me
Than any viceroy, king, or emperor;
And for his sake here will I end my days.
Ther. But, lady, go with us to Tamburlaine,
And thou shalt see a man greater than Mahomet,
In whose high looks is much more majesty,
Than from the concave superficies
Of Jove's vast palace, the imperial orb,
Unto the shining bower where Cynthia sits,
Like lovely Thetis, in a crystal robe;
That treadeth fortune underneath his feet,
And makes the mighty god of arms his slave;
On whom death and the fatal sisters wait
With naked swords and scarlet liveries;
Before whom, mounted on a lion's back,
Rhamnusia bears a helmet full of blood,
And strows the way with brains of slaughtered men;
By whose proud side the ugly furies run,
Hearkening when he shall bid them plague the world;
Over whose zenith, cloth'd in windy air,
And eagle's wings join'd to her feathered breast,

40. *wert*] *art* O_4. 62. *join'd*] *inioin'd* O_2

47–51. *In whose high looks . . robe*] In Tamburlaine's looks there dwells more majesty than is to be found throughout the heavens, from the hollow roof of Jove's palace to the shining bower where the moon sits veiled in a crystal robe like Thetis the ocean goddess.

49. *imperial*] see I, II. vii. 15, and note.

57. *Rhamnusia*] Nemesis, called Rhamnusia Dea (Virgo), from her temple at Rhamnus in Attica See also I, II. iii. 37.

61. *zenith*] crest or head, a meaning which is already approached in III. ii. 6, above.

Fame hovereth, sounding of her golden trump,
That to the adverse poles of that straight line
Which measureth the glorious frame of heaven
The name of mighty Tamburlaine is spread;
And him, fair, lady, shall thy eyes behold.
Come.

Olym. Take pity of a lady's ruthful tears,
That humbly craves upon her knees to stay,
And cast her body in the burning flame
That feeds upon her son's and husband's flesh.

Tech. Madam, sooner shall fire consume us both
Than scorch a face so beautiful as this,
In frame of which nature hath show'd more skill
Than when she gave eternal chaos form,
Drawing from it the shining lamps of heaven.

Ther. Madam, I am so far in love with you,
That you must go with us: no remedy.

Olym. Then carry me, I care not, where you will,
And let the end of this my fatal journey
Be likewise end to my accursed life.

Tech. No, madam, but the beginning of your joy:
Come willingly, therefore.

Ther. Soldiers, now let us meet the general,
Who by this time is at Natolia,
Ready to charge the army of the Turk.
The gold, the silver, and the pearl ye got,
Rifling this fort, divide in equal shares:
This lady shall have twice so much again
Out of the coffers of our treasury. [*Exeunt.*

63. *Fame*] *Fume* O_2 O_4. *of*] *in* O_4. 86. *time*] *times* O_2. 88. *the silver*] *and silver* O_2.

64–5. *the adverse poles . . . frame of heaven*] the celestial diameter.

SCENE V

CALLAPINE, ORCANES, JERUSALEM, TREBIZON, SORIA, ALMEDA, *with their train.*

Mess. Renowmed emperor, mighty Callapine,
God's great lieutenant over all the world,
Here at Aleppo, with an host of men,
Lies Tamburlaine, this king of Persia,
In number more than are the quivering leaves
Of Ida's forest, where your highness' hounds
With open cry pursues the wounded stag,
Who means to girt Natolia's walls with siege,
Fire the town and over-run the land.
Call. My royal army is as great as his,

Scene v.

1. *mighty*] *and mighty* O_4. 5. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

Scene v.

On the site of the battle between Tamburlaine and Callapine, Miss Seaton comments as follows: 'For the first time Ortelius affords no help; Marlowe seems, like a mischievous "hare", to have succeeded in putting us off the scent He has done two things to confuse: he speaks of Natolia as if it were a town; then he introduces for the site of his battle Asphaltis,' [see IV. iii. 5] 'a place apparently not known to classical or modern geography.

'Yet there is a clue left. Twice, and with some emphasis, does the Sultan Callapine refer boastfully to the coming conflict as "the Perseans' sepulchre". To any classical student poring over this cockpit of the world, remembrance would inevitably come of other campaigns, other conquerors, and of these the greatest is that "Chiefe spectacle of the world's preheminence", Alexander the Great, the most familiar of all ancient worthies to the Elizabethan. . . . The bituminous nature of the Euphrates basin is a commonplace of cosmography and of the history of Alexander's campaign Plutarch's life of the conqueror describes his naive surprise and still more naive experiment, when, after leaving Arbela, he first saw what Tennyson has called "the Memmian naphtha-pits". Marlowe, like Hakluyt, might have heard the contemporary testimony of the merchant, John Eldred, who journeyed from Babylon to Aleppo in 1583, and heard the many "springs of tarre" blowing and puffing like a smith's forge' (*Marlowe's Map*, p. 26.)

3. *Aleppo*] 'Again the scenes are strictly linked. . . . That "Here" is a splendid southward gesture, telling whence the messenger has come hot-foot, for the enemy is at his heels and enters upon this very scene. The Turks themselves are "in Natolia", and on its eastern confines, for the snake-like trail of their army covers the land . . .

"from the bounds of Phrygia to the Sea
"Which washeth Cyprus with his brinish waves."'

That, from the bounds of Phrygia to the sea
Which washeth Cyprus with his brinish waves,
Covers the hills, the valleys and the plains.
Viceroys and peers of Turkey, play the men;
Whet all your swords to mangle Tamburlaine,
His sons, his captains, and his followers:
By Mahomet, not one of them shall live!
The field wherein this battle shall be fought
For ever term the Persians' sepulchre,
In memory of this our victory.

Orc. Now he that calls himself the scourge of Jove,
The emperor of the world, and earthly god,
Shall end the warlike progress he intends,
And travel headlong to the lake of hell,
Where legions of devils, knowing he must die
Here in Natolia by your highness' hands,
All brandishing their brands of quenchless fire,
Stretching their monstrous paws, grin with their teeth,
And guard the gates to entertain his soul.

Call. Tell me, viceroys, the number of your men,
And what our army royal is esteem'd.

Jer. From Palestina and Jerusalem,
Of Hebrews three score thousand fighting men
Are come, since last we showed your majesty.

Orc. So from Arabia Desert, and the bounds
Of that sweet land whose brave metropolis
Re-edified the fair Semiramis,
Came forty thousand warlike foot and horse,
Since last we numbered to your majesty.

Treb. From Trebizon in Asia the Less,

15. *your*] *our* O_4. 21. *the*] *om.* O_2. 26. *your*] *our* O_4. 27. *their*] *in their* O_2. 28. *with*] *om.* O_2. 34. *your*] *to your* O_4.

19. *the Persians' sepulchre*] See note above on the scene generally.

28. *paws*] the reading of the octavos; Cunningham conjectured 'jaws', but the alteration seems unnecessary.

36–7. *that sweet land . . . Semiramis*] Babylon, the centre of the Babylonian empire, was commonly believed to have been rebuilt by Semiramis, wife of Ninus. (See II, v. i. 73, and note.)

Naturalized Turks and stout Bithynians
Came to my bands, full fifty thousand more,
That, fighting, know not what retreat doth mean,
Nor e'er return but with the victory,
Since last we numbered to your majesty.
Sor. Of Sorians from Halla is repair'd,
And neighbour cities of your highness' land,
Ten thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot,
Since last we numbered to your majesty;
So that the army royal is esteem'd
Six hundred thousand valiant fighting men.
Call. Then welcome, Tamburlaine, unto thy death!
Come, puissant viceroys, let us to the field,
The Persians' sepulchre, and sacrifice
Mountains of breathless men to Mahomet,
Who now, with Jove, opens the firmament
To see the slaughter of our enemies.

TAMBURLAINE *with his three* sons, USUMCASANE, *with other.*

Tamb. How now, Casane! see, a knot of kings,
Sitting as if they were a-telling riddles.
Usum. My lord, your presence makes them pale and wan:
Poor souls, they look as if their deaths were near.
Tamb. Why, so he is, Casane; I am here.
But yet I'll save their lives and make them slaves.
Ye petty kings of Turkey, I am come,
As Hector did into the Grecian camp,

46. *repair'd*] *prepar'd* O_4. 47. *om.* O_4. 57. *Heading Actus* 2, *Scaena* 1 O_1 *Actus* 2 *Scaena* 2 O_2 *Actus* 4 *Scena* 1 O_3 O_4. S.D. *other*] *others* O_2. 62. *he*] *it* O_4.

46. *Halla*] Miss Seaton remarks, 'might well be thought to be one of the many variants of Aleppo (Alepo, Halep, Aleb), but it appears in the map of the world [Ortelius] as a separate town to the south-east of Aleppo.' (*Marlowe's Map*, p. 30.)

54. *The Persians' sepulchre*] See note on l. 1, above.

54–5. *sacrifice . . . to Mahomet*] Again, the mingling of the Mahometan and classical universe.

65–8. *As Hector . . . of his fame*] For this episode, we look in vain in the *Iliad*. It belongs to the post-Homeric Troy tale. It might well be familiar to Marlowe from any one of several repetitions of the Trojan story, such as Lyd-

To overdare the pride of Græcia,
And set his warlike person to the view
Of fierce Achilles, rival of his fame.
I do you honour in the simile;
For if I should, as Hector did Achilles,
(The worthiest knight that ever brandished sword,)
Challenge in combat any of you all,
I see how fearfully ye would refuse,
And fly my glove as from a scorpion.

Orc. Now, thou art fearful of thy army's strength,
Thou wouldst with overmatch of person fight:
But, shepherd's issue, base born Tamburlaine,
Think of thy end; this sword shall lance thy throat.

Tamb. Villain, the shepherd's issue, at whose birth
Heaven did afford a gracious aspect,
And join'd those stars that shall be opposite
Even till the dissolution of the world,
And never meant to make a conqueror
So famous as is mighty Tamburlaine,
Shall so torment thee and that Callapine,
That, like a roguish runaway, suborn'd
That villain there, that slave, that Turkish dog,
To false his service to his sovereign,
As ye shall curse the birth of Tamburlaine.

Call. Rail not, proud Scythian: I shall now revenge
My father's vile abuses and mine own.

Jer. By Mahomet, he shall be tied in chains,
Rowing with Christians in a brigandine
About the Grecian isles to rob and spoil,

77. *shepherd's*] *Sepheard* O_3. 84. *is*] *the* O_4.

gate's *Troy Book*, in which (Bk. III, ll. 3755 *seq.*) it is treated at length.

80–2. *Heaven did afford . . . the world*] According to medieval astrological theory, the temperament of a man was determined by the relations of the stars at the moment of his birth. The aspect of heaven (the positions of the stars) was more favourable at Tamburlaine's birth than it would ever be again, stars coming into conjunction then that would, for the rest of time, be in opposition.

88. *false*] betray.

93. *brigandine*] See II, I. v. 11, and note.

And turn him to his ancient trade again;
Methinks the slave should make a lusty thief.

Call. Nay, when the battle ends, all we will meet,
And sit in council to invent some pain
That most may vex his body and his soul.

Tamb. Sirrah Callapine, I'll hang a clog about your neck for running away again; you shall not trouble me thus to come and fetch you.
But as for you, viceroy, you shall have bits,
And, harnessed like my horses, draw my coach;
And, when ye stay, be lashed with whips of wire;
I'll have you learn to feed on provender,
And in a stable lie upon the planks.

Orc. But, Tamburlaine, first thou shalt kneel to us,
And humbly crave a pardon for thy life.

Treb. The common soldiers of our mighty host
Shall bring thee bound unto the general's tent.

Sor. And all have jointly sworn thy cruel death,
Or bind thee in eternal torments' wrath.

Tamb. Well, sirs, diet yourselves; you know I shall have occasion shortly to journey you.

Cel. See, father, how Almeda the jailor looks upon us!

Tamb. Villain, traitor, damned fugitive,
I'll make thee wish the earth had swallowed thee!
Seest thou not death within my wrathful looks?
Go, villain, cast thee headlong from a rock,
Or rip thy bowels, and rend out thy heart,
T' appease my wrath; or else I'll torture thee,
Searing thy hateful flesh with burning irons
And drops of scalding lead, while all thy joints
Be racked and beat asunder with the wheel;

104. *harnessed*] *harnesse* O_3 O_4. 106. *on*] *with* O_2. 108. *thou shalt*] *shalt thou* O_4. 111. *the*] *our* O_3 O_4. 121. *and rend*] *and rent* O_2 *or rend* O_4.

100–2. *Sirrah . . . fetch you*] The prose lines here and at ll. 114–15 perhaps represent a paraphrase or other abbreviation of Tamburlaine's address to Callapine and the allies.

For, if thou livest, not any element
Shall shroud thee from the wrath of Tamburlaine.

Call. Well in despite of thee, he shall be king.
Come, Almeda; receive this crown of me:
I here invest thee king of Ariadan,
Bordering on Mare Roso, near to Mecca.

Orc. What! take it, man.

Alm. Good my lord, let me take it.

Call. Dost thou ask him leave? here; take it.

Tamb. Go to, sirrah! take your crown, and make up the half dozen. So, sirrah, now you are a king, you must give arms.

Orc. So he shall, and wear thy head in his scutcheon.

Tamb. No; let him hang a bunch of keys on his standard, to put him in remembrance he was a jailor, that, when I take him, I may knock out his brains with them, and lock you in the stable, when you shall come sweating from my chariot.

Treb. Away! let us to the field, that the villain may be slain.

Tamb. Sirrah, prepare whips, and bring my chariot to my tent; for, as soon as the battle is done, I'll ride in triumph through the camp.

Enter THERIDAMAS, TECHELLES, *and their train.*

How now, ye petty kings? lo, here are bugs
Will make the hair stand upright on your heads,

135. *Go to sirrah*] *Go too sirha* O_1 O_2 *Goe to sirrha* O_3 *Goe sirrha* O_4. 139. *No*] *Go* O_2.

130–1. *Ariadan . . . Mecca*] 'This exactly describes the position in the map of Africa of this unimportant town that Marlowe arbitrarily selected; it appears again in *Turcicum Imperium*, but much less conspicuous, and the sea there is not called *Mar Rosso*' (Seaton, p. 28).

133. *Good my lord, let me take it*] This line is obviously addressed to Tamburlaine and many editors indicate it by a stage direction.

136–7. *you must give arms*] The pun, in this dubious prose passage, is not uncommon. It is best known in the words of the gravedigger (*Hamlet*, v. i. 37 *seq.*): 'Is he a gentleman? A' was the first that ever bore arms.'

149. *bugs*] bugbears.

And cast your crowns in slavery at their feet.
Welcome, Theridamas and Techelles, both:
See ye this rout, and know ye this same king?

Ther. Ay, my lord; he was Callapine's keeper.

Tamb. Well now you see he is a king. Look to him, Theridamas, when we are fighting, lest he hide his crown as the foolish king of Persia did.

Sor. No, Tamburlaine; he shall not be put to that exigent, I warrant thee.

Tamb. You know not, sir.
But now, my followers and my loving friends,
Fight as you ever did, like conquerors,
The glory of this happy day is yours.
My stern aspect shall make fair Victory,
Hovering betwixt our armies, light on me,
Loaden with laurel wreaths to crown us all.

Tech. I smile to think how, when this field is fought
And rich Natolia ours, our men shall sweat
With carrying pearl and treasure on their backs.

Tamb. You shall be princes all, immediately.
Come, fight, ye Turks, or yield us victory.

Orc. No; we will meet thee, slavish Tamburlaine.

[*Exeunt.*

153. *know ye*] *know you* O_3 O_4. 155. *you*] *ye* O_2. 164. *aspect*] *aspects* O_4. 166. *Loaden*] *Laden* O_3 O_4.

156–7. *lest he hide . . . Persia did*] This reference to I, II. iv. reads like actor's gag—a happy reference to a popular episode in the earlier play. That fact, combined with its prose form, throws suspicion on this speech and, no less, on parts of the episode alluded to. See notes to I, II iv.

ACT IV

SCENE I

Alarm. AMYRAS *and* CELEBINUS *issues from the tent where* CALYPHAS *sits asleep.*

Amy. Now in their glories shine the golden crowns
Of these proud Turks, much like so many suns
That half dismay the majesty of heaven.
Now, brother, follow we our father's sword,
That flies with fury swifter than our thoughts,
And cuts down armies with his conquering wings.
Cel. Call forth our lazy brother from the tent,
For, if my father miss him in the field,
Wrath, kindled in the furnace of his breast,
Will send a deadly lightning to his heart.
Amy. Brother, ho! what, given so much to sleep,
You cannot leave it, when our enemies' drums
And rattling cannons thunder in our ears
Our proper ruin and our father's foil?
Caly. Away, ye fools! my father needs not me,
Nor you, in faith, but that you will be thought

Act IV. Scene i.

1. Prefix *Amy*] *Add Dyce om* $O_{1\,4}$ 6. *conquering wings*] *conquerings wings* O_1. 7. *lazy*] *laize* O_3. 12 *You cannot*] *Can you not* O_4.

Act IV. Scene i.

6. *conquering wings*] Wagner would read 'conquering swings' (after the 'conquerings wings' of O_1), applying the phrase to the sword of Tamburlaine. The metaphor is perhaps somewhat cloudy, but it is not hard to imagine Tamburlaine rushing forward like some fierce bird of unknown genealogy, certainly Elizabethan syntax admits of 'father' as the subject of 'that'.

14. *proper*] as often, in the sixteenth century, has here the sense of own; it is nearer in meaning to the Latin 'proprius' than the modern usage.

More childish valourous than manly wise.
If half our camp should sit and sleep with me,
My father were enough to scare the foe;
You do dishonour to his majesty,
To think our helps will do him any good.
Amy. What, dar'st thou, then, be absent from the fight
Knowing my father hates thy cowardice,
And oft hath warn'd thee to be still in field,
When he himself amidst the thickest troops
Beats down our foes, to flesh our taintless swords?
Caly. I know, sir, what it is to kill a man;
It works remorse of conscience in me.
I take no pleasure to be murderous,
Nor care for blood when wine will quench my thirst.
Cel. O cowardly boy! fie, for shame, come forth!
Thou dost dishonour manhood and thy house.
Caly. Go, go, tall stripling, fight you for us both;
And take my other toward brother here,
For person like to prove a second Mars;
'Twill please my mind as well to hear both you
Have won a heap of honour in the field,
And left your slender carcasses behind,
As if I lay with you for company.
Amy. You will not go then?
Caly. You say true.
Amy. Were all the lofty mounts of Zona Mundi
That fill the midst of farthest Tartary

24. *warn'd*] *wnrn'd* O_3. 36. *both you*] *you both* O_4

33. *tall*] here has its usual meaning, 'valiant' or 'bold', with perhaps a touch of cynicism in Calyphas's choice of the popular and almost vulgarized word Bullen draws attention to Mercutio's comment, which perhaps throws light upon Marlowe's use: 'The pox of such antic, lisping, affecting fantasticoes, these new tuners of accents! "By Jesu a very good blade, a very tall man"' (*Rom. and Jul.*, II. iv)

34 *toward*] promising

42–3 *Zona Mundi . . Tartary*] 'In *Europe* and *Russia*, the range of *Zona mundi montes*, or *Orbis Zona montes*, runs southwards through northernmost Tartary from the coast near Waygatz and Petsora, in the coloured maps most obviously "farthest Tartary".' (*Marlowe's Map*, p 28)

Turn'd into pearl and proffered for my stay,
I would not bide the fury of my father,
When, made a victor in these haughty arms,
He comes and finds his sons have had no shares
In all the honours he proposed for us.

Caly. Take you the honour, I will take my ease;
My wisdom shall excuse my cowardice.
I go into the field before I need!
[*Alarm, and Amyras and Celebinus run in.*
The bullets fly at random where they list;
And should I go and kill a thousand men,
I were as soon rewarded with a shot,
And sooner far than he that never fights;
And should I go and do nor harm nor good,
I might have harm, which all the good I have,
Join'd with my father's crown, would never cure.
I'll to cards.—Perdicas!

Enter PERDICAS.

Perd. Here, my lord.

Caly. Come, thou and I will go to cards to drive away the time.

Perd. Content, my lord: but what shall we play for?

Caly. Who shall kiss the fairest of the Turks' concubines first, when my father hath conquered them.

Perd. Agreed, i'faith. [*They play.*

Caly. They say I am a coward, Perdicas, and I fear as little their taratantaras, their swords or their cannons as I do a naked lady in a net of gold, and, for fear I should be afraid, would put it off and come to bed with me.

Perd. Such a fear, my lord, would never make ye retire.

Caly. I would my father would let me be put in the front of such a battle once, to try my valour! [*Alarm.*] What

53. *should I*] *I should* O_4. 56. *nor harm*] *no harme* O_2 O_4.

68. *taratantaras*] bugle-calls; the word is onomatopœic and imitates the sound of a trumpet or bugle.

a coil they keep! I believe there will be some hurt done anon amongst them.

Enter TAMBURLAINE, THERIDAMAS, TECHELLES, USUMCASANE, AMYRAS, CELEBINUS *leading the* TURKISH KINGS.

Tamb. See now, ye slaves, my children stoops your pride,
And leads your glories sheep-like to the sword!
Bring them, my boys, and tell me if the wars
Be not a life that may illustrate gods,
And tickle not your spirits with desire
Still to be train'd in arms and chivalry?

Amy. Shall we let go these kings again, my lord,
To gather greater numbers 'gainst our power,
That they may say, it is not chance doth this,
But matchless strength and magnanimity?

Tamb. No, no, Amyras; tempt not Fortune so.
Cherish thy valour still with fresh supplies,
And glut it not with stale and daunted foes.
But where's this coward, villain, not my son,
But traitor to my name and majesty?
[*He goes in and brings him out.*
Image of sloth, and picture of a slave,
The obloquy and scorn of my renown!
How may my heart, thus fired with mine eyes,
Wounded with shame and kill'd with discontent,
Shroud any thought may hold my striving hands
From martial justice on thy wretched soul?

Ther. Yet pardon him, I pray your majesty.

Tech. and Usum. Let all of us entreat your highness' pardon.

Tamb. Stand up, ye base, unworthy soldiers!
Know ye not yet the argument of arms?

Amy. Good, my lord, let him be forgiven for once,

76. *ye*] *my* O_4. 77. *glories*] *bodies* O_2. 83. *'gainst*] *against* O_4. 93. *mine*] *my* O_2. 101. *once*] *one* O_2.

76. *stoops*] transitive, 'bends' or 'bows'.
79. *illustrate*] become, adorn, beautify.
100. *argument of arms*] seems here to mean 'course or nature of military life'. The usage has no exact parallel in the N.E.D., but

And we will force him to the field hereafter.
Tamb. Stand up, my boys, and I will teach ye arms,
And what the jealousy of wars must do.
O Samarcanda, where I breathed first,
And joy'd the fire of this martial flesh,
Blush, blush, fair city, at thine honour's foil,
And shame of nature, which Jaertis' stream,
Embracing thee with deepest of his love,
Can never wash from thy distained brows!
Here, Jove, receive his fainting soul again;
A form not meet to give that subject essence
Whose matter is the flesh of Tamburlaine,
Wherein an incorporeal spirit moves,
Made of the mould whereof thyself consists,
Which makes me valiant, proud, ambitious,
Ready to levy power against thy throne,
That I might move the turning spheres of heaven;
For earth and all this airy region
Cannot contain the state of Tamburlaine.
[*Stabs Calyphas.*

103 *ye*] *you* O_3 O_4 106 *martial*] *materiall* O_3 O_4. 107 *thine*] *thy* O_4. 108. *which*] *Rob etc, with* O_{1-4} *Jaertis*] *Laertis* O_4. 114. *incorporeal*] *incorporall* O_3 O_4 120. S D] *Add Dyce*

it would appear that Tamburlaine's metaphor is borrowed from the argument in which is set down the lines along which a play or story is destined to proceed

104 *jealousy*] zeal.

105–8 *O Samarcanda . . Jaertis' stream*] Much less is made of Samarcand in this play than in most of the biographies of Tamburlaine, in whose life the city of his birth played an important part Jaertis here is undoubtedly the Jaxartes which appears in Ortelius's *Persicum Regnum* as 'Chesel fl. olim Iaxartes' and runs from Tartary due west into the Caspian Sea. But Samarchand in this map is marked to the south of the Iaxartes, on one of the headwaters of the Amu.

111–15 *Here Jove . thyself consists*] 'Here Jove receive again the soul of Calyphas, a spirit (i e. "form" almost in the sense of "idea") not worthy to be the immortal part (essence) of that subject whose mortal part (matter) is derived from the flesh of Tamburlaine—in whom moves an immortal spirit of the same mould as thine own,' etc. The terms 'form', 'subject', 'essence', 'matter' are used in strict accordance with the tradition of sixteenth-century Aristotelian logic, and the whole passage (111–117) throws an interesting light on Marlowe's conception of the divinity of man.

By Mahomet, thy mighty friend, I swear,
In sending to my issue such a soul,
Created of the massy dregs of earth,
The scum and tartar of the elements,
Wherein was neither courage, strength or wit,
But folly, sloth, and damned idleness.
Thou hast procur'd a greater enemy
Than he that darted mountains at thy head,
Shaking the burden mighty Atlas bears,
Whereat thou trembling hidd'st thee in the air,
Cloth'd with a pitchy cloud for being seen.
And now, ye cankered curs of Asia,
That will not see the strength of Tamburlaine,
Although it shine as brightly as the sun,
Now you shall feel the strength of Tamburlaine,
And, by the state of his supremacy,
Approve the difference 'twixt himself and you.
Orc. Thou showest the difference 'twixt ourselves and thee,
In this thy barbarous damned tyranny.
Jer. Thy victories are grown so violent,
That shortly heaven, filled with the meteors
Of blood and fire thy tyrannies have made,
Will pour down blood and fire on thy head,
Whose scalding drops will pierce thy seething brains,
And with our bloods revenge our bloods on thee.

128. *Than*] *Then* O_3 O_4. 135 *you shall*] *shall ye* O_3 O_4 145 *bloods on*] *blood on* O_2.

124. *tartar*] (bitartrate of potash) is generally used in the sixteenth century to describe the dregs of wine or the deposit upon the cask. Hence Tamburlaine's contemptuous figurative use of the word Cf. Donne, *Serm.*, II. xix.: 'Impatience in affliction . . . a leaven so kneaded into the nature of man, so innate a tartar.'

128–131. *that darted mountains . . . for being seen*] For the wars of Zeus with the Titans, see I, v. ii. 448.

for being seen] for fear of being seen, to avoid being seen. This gradual crescendo of rage is not without value. From the death of Zenocrate onwards the ever-increasing madness of Tamburlaine reveals itself more and more clearly The first indications are given in the speeches at Zenocrate's death-bed, the frenzy rises with Tamburlaine's hatred of Calyphas, passing on to his murder and this challenge to Zeus, to culminate in the final challenge at the approach of Tamburlaine's own death.

Tamb. Villains, these terrors and these tyrannies
(If tyrannies war's justice ye repute),
I execute, enjoin'd me from above,
To scourge the pride of such as Heaven abhors;
Nor am I made arch-monarch of the world,
Crown'd and invested by the hand of Jove,
For deeds of bounty or nobility;.
But since I exercise a greater name,
The scourge of God and terror of the world,
I must apply myself to fit those terms,
In war, in blood, in death, in cruelty,
And plague such peasants as resist in me
The power of heaven's eternal majesty.
Theridamas, Techelles and Casane,
Ransack the tents and the pavilions
Of these proud Turks and take their concubines,
Making them bury this effeminate brat;
For not a common soldier shall defile
His manly fingers with so faint a boy:
Then bring those Turkish harlots to my tent,
And I'll dispose them as it likes me best.
Meanwhile, take him in.

Soldiers. We will, my lord.

[*Exeunt with the body of Calyphas.*

Jer. O damned monster, nay, a fiend of hell,
Whose cruelties are not so harsh as thine,
Nor yet imposed with such a bitter hate!

Orc. Revenge it, Rhadamanth and Æacus,
And let your hates, extended in his pains,

146. *Villains*] *Villain* O_4. 157. *peasants*] *parsants* O_4. *resist in*] *Broughton etc. resisting* O_{1-4}. 168.] S.D. *Add. Dyce.* 172. *it*] *om.* O_3 O_4.

157. *resist in*] the emendation offered by Broughton and followed by most subsequent editors for 'resisting' of the octavos.

160. *the tents and the pavilions*] perhaps a reminiscence of Newton's phrase (see Appendix D).

172. *Rhadamanth and Æacus*] with Minos, the judges in Hades. Here, they are more strictly, the distributors of rewards and punishments after death

Expel the hate wherewith he pains our souls!
Treb. May never day give virtue to his eyes,
Whose sight, composed of fury and of fire,
Doth send such stern affections to his heart!
Sor. May never spirit, vein or artier feed
The cursed substance of that cruel heart;
But, wanting moisture and remorseful blood,
Dry up with anger, and consume with heat!
Tamb. Well, bark, ye dogs; I'll bridle all your tongues,
And bind them close with bits of burnished steel,
Down to the channels of your hateful throats;
And, with the pains my rigour shall inflict,
I'll make ye roar, that earth may echo forth
The far resounding torments ye sustain;
As when an herd of lusty Cimbrian bulls
Run mourning round about the females' miss,
And, stung with fury of their following,
Fill all the air with troublous bellowing.
I will, with engines never exercised,
Conquer, sack and utterly consume
Your cities and your golden palaces,
And with the flames that beat against the clouds,
Incense the heavens and make the stars to melt,
As if they were the tears of Mahomet
For hot consumption of his country's pride;
And, till by vision or by speech I hear
Immortal Jove say 'Cease, my Tamburlaine,'
I will persist a terror to the world,
Making the meteors, that, like armed men,

183. *close*] *clese* O_3. 186. *ye*] *you* O_3 O_4.

177. *affections*] See I, I. ii. 163, and note.

178. *artier*] one, though not a very common, variant of 'artery': Marlowe, in this play, seems to prefer this form. Cf. I, II. vii. 10.

188. *Cimbrian bulls*] I am unable to account for this allusion.

189. *the females' miss*] the loss of the females, a somewhat curious objective genitive. Wagner parallels 'miss' with Shakespeare's 'I should have a heavy miss of thee' (1 *Henry IV*, v. iv. 105). The same construction occurs in the next line; 'their following', for the 'following of them'.

Are seen to march upon the towers of heaven,
Run tilting round about the firmament,
And break their burning lances in the air,
For honour of my wondrous victories,
Come, bring them in to our pavilion. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

OLYMPIA *alone.*

Olym. Distressed Olympia, whose weeping eyes,
Since thy arrival here, beheld no sun,
But, closed within the compass of a tent,
Hath stain'd thy cheeks, and made thee look like death,
Devise some means to rid thee of thy life,
Rather than yield to his detested suit,
Whose drift is only to dishonour thee;
And since this earth, dew'd with thy brinish tears,
Affords no herbs whose taste may poison thee,
Nor yet this air, beat often with thy sighs,
Contagious smells and vapours to infect thee,
Nor thy close cave a sword to murder thee,
Let this invention be the instrument.

Enter THERIDAMAS.

Ther. Well met, Olympia; I sought thee in my tent,
But when I saw the place obscure and dark,
Which with thy beauty thou wast wont to light,
Enrag'd, I ran about the fields for thee,
Supposing amorous Jove had sent his son,
The winged Hermes, to convey thee hence;
But now I find thee, and that fear is past,
Tell me, Olympia, wilt thou grant my suit?

Olym. My lord and husband's death, with my sweet son's,

207. *in to*] *into* O_3 O_4.

Scene ii.

Heading Scene ii.] *Scena* 3 O_{1-4}. 2. *beheld*] *beholde* O_2 O_4. 3. *a*] *the* O_2. 6. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4. 16. *wast*] *was* O_2. 22. *son's*] *son* O_3 O_4.

With whom I buried all affections
Save grief and sorrow, which torment my heart,
Forbids my mind to entertain a thought
That tends to love, but meditate on death,
A fitter subject for a pensive soul.
Ther. Olympia, pity him in whom thy looks
Have greater operation and more force
Than Cynthia's in the watery wilderness;
For with thy view my joys are at the full,
And ebb again as thou departst from me.
Olym. Ah, pity me, my lord, and draw your sword,
Making a passage for my troubled soul,
Which beats against this prison to get out,
And meet my husband and my loving son!
Ther. Nothing but still thy husband and thy son?
Leave this, my love, and listen more to me;
Thou shalt be stately queen of fair Argier;
And, cloth'd in costly cloth of massy gold,
Upon the marble turrets of my court
Sit like to Venus in her chair of state,
Commanding all thy princely eye desires;
And I will cast off arms and sit with thee,
Spending my life in sweet discourse of love.
Olym. No such discourse is pleasant in mine ears,
But that where every period ends with death,
And every line begins with death again.
I cannot love, to be an emperess.
Ther. Nay lady, then, if nothing will prevail,
I'll use some other means to make you yield.
Such is the sudden fury of my love,

44. *and*] *to* O_2. 46. *in*] *to* O_4.

Scene ii.

30–3. *Cynthia's . . . departst from me*] The influence of the moon upon the tides was a familiar fact to the Elizabethan poets, perhaps on the whole better acquainted with the nautical world than the average modern townsman. The full moon causes the high tides or springs (' my joys are at the full '), which sink to the neaps (' And ebb again ') as she wanes.

I must and will be pleased, and you shall yield.
Come to the tent again.

Olym. Stay, good my lord and, will you save my honour,
I'll give your grace a present of such price
As all the world can not afford the like.

Ther. What is it?

Olym. An ointment which a cunning alchemist
Distilled from the purest balsamum
And simplest extracts of all minerals,
In which the essential form of marble stone,
Tempered by science metaphysical,
And spells of magic from the mouths of spirits,
With which if you but 'noint your tender skin,
Nor pistol, sword, nor lance can pierce your flesh.

Ther. Why, madam, think ye to mock me thus palpably?

Olym. To prove it, I will 'noint my naked throat,
Which when you stab, look on your weapon's point,
And you shall see't rebated with the blow.

Ther. Why gave you not your husband some of it,
If you lov'd him, and it so precious?

Olym. My purpose was, my lord, to spend it so,
But was prevented by his sudden end;
And for a present easy proof hereof,
That I dissemble not, try it on me.

Ther. I will, Olympia, and will keep it for

55. *good*] *now* O_3. *and will you*] *if you will* O_4. 64. *mouths*] *mother* O_3. 67. *ye*] *you* O_3 O_4. 75. *hereof*] *thereof* O_3. 77. *and will*] *and I will* O_3.

59. *An ointment . . . alchemist*] In Ariosto's version of the story, Isabella herself makes the ointment and goes out to gather the herbs, jealously guarded by Rodomonte. The narrative is long and undramatic and Marlowe has condensed it aptly by this device.

61–2. *simplest extracts*] What alchemy terms the elements, or elemental parts, of the minerals. *essential form*] the fundamental quality, almost the 'spirit', of the marble. For this use of 'form' compare above, IV, i. 112, and note.

63. *science metaphysical*] black magic, the science that went beyond mere physical knowledge. We may compare Lady Macbeth's words, 'Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem to have thee crouned withal' (I. v. 27–8).

70. *rebated*] blunted.

The richest present of this eastern world.

[*She 'noints her throat.*

Olym. Now stab, my lord, and mark your weapon's point,
That will be blunted if the blow be great.

Ther. Here, then, Olympia. [*Stabs her.*
What, have I slain her? Villain, stab thyself!
Cut off this arm that murdered my love,
In whom the learned Rabbis of this age
Might find as many wondrous miracles
As in the theoria of the world!
Now hell is fairer than Elisian;
A greater lamp than that bright eye of heaven,
From whence the stars do borrow all their light,
Wanders about the black circumference;
And now the damned souls are free from pain,
For every Fury gazeth on her looks;
Infernal Dis is courting of my love,
Inventing masks and stately shows for her,
Opening the doors of his rich treasury
To entertain this queen of chastity;
Whose body shall be tomb'd with all the pomp
The treasure of my kingdom may afford.

[*Exit taking her away.*

81. S.D.] *Add. Dyce.* 87. *than Elisian*] *then Elizian* O_3 O_4. 88 *than*] *then* O_3 O_4. 98. *my*] *thy* O_2.

84–6. *learned Rabbis . . . theoria of the world*] The title Rabbi, now used only for a Jewish doctor of the law, was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sometimes applied to any man of great and comparable learning. The reference to 'the theoria' is somewhat obscure; the N.E.D. queries 'contemplation, survey', which is probably the meaning. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne's use of 'theory' in 1643: 'Nor can I think I have the true theory of death when I contemplate a skull.' (*Rel. Med.*, i. § 45.)

SCENE III

TAMBURLAINE, *drawn in his chariot by* TREBIZON *and* SORIA, *with bits in their mouths, reins in his left hand, and in his right hand a whip with which he scourgeth them;* TECHELLES, THERIDAMAS, USUMCASANE, AMYRAS, CELEBINUS, NATOLIA *and* JERUSALEM, *led by five or six common* Soldiers.

Tamb. Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!
What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day,
And have so proud a chariot at your heels,
And such a coachman as great Tamburlaine,
But from Asphaltis, where I conquered you,
To Byron here, where thus I honour you?
The horse that guide the golden eye of heaven,
And blow the morning from their nostrils,
Making their fiery gait above the clouds,

Scene iii.

Heading Scene iii.] *Add. Dyce* *Scaena* 4 O_{1-4}.

Scene iii.

The absurd exaggeration of this scene, which, nevertheless, appears to have given the play an important measure of its popularity, drew down allusion and parody from contemporary writers as it has drawn comment from its subsequent editors. Broughton and Dyce cite, between them, some dozen instances of contemporary burlesque or ironical allusion (see also C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe*, under *Tamburlaine*), of which the most famous is Shakespeare's parody of the opening lines of the scene (*II Henry IV*, II. iv. 178 *seq.*). I have found no detailed accounts of this episode in any of the histories which Marlowe appears to have used (see *Introduction*) and am driven to conclude that he elaborated it himself from slender hints, such as this of Haytoun: 'Car il avoit avecques soy plusieurs roys et grans princes qui eussent mieulx ayme vivre en povrete hors de sa compaignie, que destre avecques luy en grandes richesses et honneurs.' (*Les fleurs des hystoires . . .* 1501, Part v, ch. vii. Sig. R_v) But Hallett Smith again points to Le Roy (fol 107).

1. The resemblance here to Golding's translation of Ovid, IX. 238 ('pampered Jades of Thrace') was pointed out by Miss M. M. Wills (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept. 1937) and suggests that Marlowe knew the translation as well as the original.

5–6. *from Asphaltis . . . to Byron*] By Asphaltis Marlowe means the bituminous lake near Babylon (see III. v. 1 *seq.*, and note): 'In the maps of Asia and *Turcicum Imperium*, Biron is only a few miles up-stream from Babylon or Bagdet itself.' (Seaton, *Marlowe's Map*, 26)

8. *And blow . . . nostrils*] Dyce points out that Chapman and the anonymous author of *Caesar and Pompey* have also drawn upon the lines which Marlowe translates here:

'. . . Cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt
'Solis equi, lucemque elatis naribus efflant.'

(*Aeneid*, XII. 114 f.)

Are not so honoured in their governor
As you, ye slaves, in mighty Tamburlaine.
The headstrong jades of Thrace Alcides tam'd,
That King Ægeus fed with human flesh,
And made so wanton that they knew their strengths,
Were not subdu'd with valour more divine
Than you by this unconquered arm of mine.
To make you fierce, and fit my appetite,
You shall be fed with flesh as raw as blood,
And drink in pails the strongest muscadel;
If you can live with it, then live and draw
My chariot swifter than the racking clouds;
If not, then die like beasts, and fit for naught
But perches for the black and fatal ravens.
Thus am I right the scourge of highest Jove;
And see the figure of my dignity,
By which I hold my name and majesty.

Amy. Let me have coach, my lord, that I may ride,
And thus be drawn with these two idle kings.

Tamb. Thy youth forbids such ease, my kingly boy;
They shall to-morrow draw my chariot,
While these their fellow kings may be refreshed.

Orc. O thou that swayest the region under earth,
And art a king as absolute as Jove,
Come as thou didst in fruitful Sicily,
Surveying all the glories of the land,

10. *in*] *as* O_4. 21. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4. 27. *coach*] *a coch* O_3 *a coach* O_4. 28. *with*] *by* O_4.

12. *Alcides tam'd*] For Marlowe's references to Hercules, see I, III iii. 104, note.

21. *racking*] moving before the wind.

25. *figure of my dignity*] the very image of my dignity N E.D. cites Elyot, *Gov.*, I. xxvi.: 'There is not a more playne figure of idlenesse than playinge at dise.'

32–8. *Thou that swayest . . . queen*] Hades (Pluto), the brother of Zeus, had absolute power in the lower regions and was thus sometimes referred to as Jove of the underworld, 'Juppiter Stygius' (*Aen.*, IV. 638). For the story of the rape of Persephone and the wanderings of Ceres, see *Metam.*, V. 385 ff., a passage which, like the other numerous classical references to the tale, seems to be derived from *Homeric Hymn* 2 (to Demeter).

And as thou took'st the fair Proserpina,
Joying the fruit of Ceres' garden plot,
For love, for honour, and to make her queen,
So, for just hate, for shame, and to subdue
This proud contemner of thy dreadful power,
Come once in fury, and survey his pride,
Haling him headlong to the lowest hell!

Ther. Your majesty must get some bits for these,
To bridle their contemptuous cursing tongues,
That, like unruly never broken jades,
Break through the hedges of their hateful mouths,
And pass their fixed bounds exceedingly.

Tech. Nay, we will break the hedges of their mouths,
And pull their kicking colts out of their pastures.

Usum. Your majesty already hath devised
A mean, as fit as may be, to restrain
These coltish coach-horse tongues from blasphemy.

Cel. How like you that, sir king? why speak you not?

Jer. Ah, cruel brat, sprung from a tyrant's loins!
How like his cursed father he begins
To practice taunts and bitter tyrannies!

Tamb. Ay, Turk, I tell thee, this same boy is he
That must, advanced in higher pomp than this,
Rifle the kingdoms I shall leave unsacked,
If Jove, esteeming me too good for earth,

37. *garden*] *garded* O_2. 53. *speak you*] *speak ye* O_2. 57. *same*] *om.* O_4. 58. *than*] *then* O_2 O_4.

48–49. *hedges of their mouths . . . pastures*] This somewhat ineffectual play of words has given more trouble to Marlowe's editors than it deserves. Wagner makes a plea for such meaning as the passage has and his words may be quoted: 'Wenn Cunningham in seiner Anmerkung sagt "A stupid allusion to the first teeth, called colt's teeth, or milk teeth" und dies dann so begründet "The celebrated pampered jades of Asia must long before have lost those evidences of youth," so erlaube ich mir, ihm das Epitheton "stupid" zu geeigneterer Verwendung zurückzustellen, denn er hat die Stelle nicht verstanden. Es kommt gar nicht darauf an, wie alt die besiegten Könige als Menschen sind, sondern darauf, dass sie hier als *coltish coach-horses*' (l. 52) 'vorgeführt werden, und als solche sind sie jung. Das Wortspiel ist nicht besser und nicht schlechter als unzählige Shakespeare'sche "quibbles".'

Raise me to match the fair Aldeboran,
Above the threefold astracism of heaven,
Before I conquer all the triple world.
Now fetch me out the Turkish concubines;
I will prefer them for the funeral
They have bestowed on my abortive son.
[*The Concubines are brought in.*
Where are my common soldiers now, that fought
So lion-like upon Asphaltis' plains?

Soldiers. Here, my lord.

Tamb. Hold ye, tall soldiers, take ye queens a piece,
I mean such queens as were kings' concubines;
Take them; divide them, and their jewels too,
And let them equally serve all your turns.

Soldiers. We thank your majesty.

Tamb. Brawl not, I warn you, for your lechery;
For every man that so offends shall die.

Orc. Injurious tyrant, wilt thou so defame
The hateful fortunes of thy victory,
To exercise upon such guiltless dames
The violence of thy common soldiers' lust?

Tamb. Live continent, then, ye slaves, and meet not me
With troops of harlots at your slothful heels.

Concubines. O pity us, my lord, and save our honours!

Tamb. Are ye not gone, ye villains, with your spoils?
[*They run away with the ladies.*

Jer. O merciless, infernal cruelty!

Tamb. Save your honours! 'twere but time indeed,
Lost long before you knew what honour meant.

61. *match*] *march* O_2 O_4. 62. *Above*] *About* O_4. *astracism*] *Astrachisme* O_2. 72. *their*] *om.* O_2. 81. *continent*] *Rob. etc. content* O_{1-4}. 87. *you*] *ye* O_2.

61–3. *Aldeboran*] The star in the eye of the constellation Taurus. An astracism (more properly 'asterism') is a constellation, that is, from Marlowe's point of view, one of the twelve groups of fixed stars of the zodiac which formed the outermost sphere but one (the outermost was the *primum mobile*). Why Marlowe applies to this the epithet 'threefold' I have not been able to discover.

70. *tall*] see II, IV. i. 33, and note.

Ther. It seems they meant to conquer us, my lord,
And make us jesting pageants for their trulls.
Tamb. And now themselves shall make our pageant,
And common soldiers jest with all their trulls.
Let them take pleasure soundly in their spoils,
Till we prepare our march to Babylon,
Whether we next make expedition.
Tech. Let us not be idle, then, my lord,
But presently be prest to conquer it.
Tamb. We will, Techelles. Forward, then, ye jades!
Now crouch, ye kings of greatest Asia,
And tremble when ye hear this scourge will come
That whips down cities and controlleth crowns,
Adding their wealth and treasure to my store.
The Euxine sea, north to Natolia;
The Terrene, west; the Caspian, north north-east;
And on the south, Sinus Arabicus;
Shall all be loaden with the martial spoils
We will convey with us to Persia.
Then shall my native city Samarcanda,
And crystal waves of fresh Jaertis' stream,
The pride and beauty of her princely seat,
Be famous through the furthest continents;
For there my palace royal shall be plac'd,
Whose shining turrets shall dismay the heavens,
And cast the fame of Ilion's tower to hell;
Thorough the streets, with troops of conquered kings,
I'll ride in golden armour like the sun;

105. *all*] *om.* O_4. 114. *Thorough*] *through* O_3 *&* *through* O_4.

96. *prest*] see II, I. ii. 45, and note.
107–8. *Samarcanda . . . Jaertis'*] see II, IV. i. 105, 108, and note.
111–18. *my palace royal . . . of the three-fold world*] This description of Samarcand does indeed recall some of the more general parts of the reports made by travellers such as Clavijo and Schiltberger. But upon closer view it is seen to owe little to anything but Marlowe's imagination set to work by the statements (current in all the biographers and fairly full in Perondinus) that Tamburlaine built or extended the city of Samarcand, filled it with his treasures and captives, and made it the wealthiest and most extensive city of Asia.

And in my helm a triple plume shall spring,
Spangled with diamonds, dancing in the air,
To note me emperor of the three-fold world;
Like to an almond tree ymounted high
Upon the lofty and celestial mount
Of ever green Selinus, quaintly decked
With blooms more white than Herycina's brows,
Whose tender blossoms tremble every one
At every little breath that thorough heaven is blown.
Then in my coach, like Saturn's royal son
Mounted his shining chariot gilt with fire,
And drawn with princely eagles through the path
Pav'd with bright crystal and enchas'd with stars,
When all the gods stand gazing at his pomp,
So will I ride through Samarcanda streets,
Until my soul, dissevered from this flesh,
Shall mount the milk-white way, and meet him there.
To Babylon, my lords, to Babylon! [*Exeunt.*

Finis Actus Quarti.

121. *ever*] *Rob. etc. every* (*everie*) O_{1-4}. 122 *brows*] *bowes* O_2. 124. *that thorough*] *from* O_4 126 *chariot*] *Dyce etc. Chariots* O_{1-4}.

119–24. *Like to an almond-tree . . . is blown*] These lines occur, with very slight modification, in the *Faerie Queene*, Book I, Canto VII V. 32. As the first three books of the *Faerie Queene* were not published until 1590, there has been some speculation as to whether or not Marlowe can have read the manuscript of the poem before publication. T. W. Baldwin has recently suggested that here, as in some half-dozen other passages in which there is resemblance, it may be argued that Spenser borrowed from Marlowe rather than Marlowe from Spenser.

121 *Selinus*] Presumably a reference to the Sicilian town and not to any of the several rivers that go under this name. Broughton draws attention to Virgil's reference (*Aen.*, III, 705)

122 *Herycina*] This epithet of Venus may have been suggested to Marlowe by Horace (*Odes*, I 2–33) or by Ovid, *Metam.*, V. 363, *Her.* XV 57, *Am.*, II 10, 11 The epithet is common, and is derived from the temple of Venus on Mt. Eryx in the west of Sicily Cf. *Volpone* III vi: 'Then I like Mars and thou like Erycine'

ACT V

SCENE I

Enter the GOVERNOR OF BABYLON *upon the walls with others.*

Gov. What saith Maximus?

Max. My lord, the breach the enemy hath made
Gives such assurance of our overthrow,
That little hope is left to save our lives,
Or hold our city from the conqueror's hands.
Then hang out flags, my lord, of humble truce,
And satisfy the people's general prayers,
That Tamburlaine's intolerable wrath
May be suppressed by our submission.

Gov. Villain, respects thou more thy slavish life
Than honour of thy country or thy name?
Is not my life and state as dear to me,
The city and my native country's weal,
As any thing of price with thy conceit?
Have we not hope, for all our battered walls,
To live secure and keep his forces out,
When this our famous lake of Limnasphaltis
Makes walls afresh with every thing that falls
Into the liquid substance of his stream,

Act V. Scene i.

6. *out*] *our* O_{2-4}. 11. *Than*] *Then* O_2O_4. 14. *of*] *in* O_4.

Act V. Scene i.

14. *As . . . conceit*] As anything that is prized in your thoughts.

17. *Limnasphaltis*] For his descriptions of Babylon and for the almost fabulous properties of its bituminous lake, Marlowe may have been indebted to Herodotus. It would have been possible, however, for him to find these descriptions repeated by contemporary travellers such as John Eldred, to whom reference has already been made by Miss Seaton (see note on II, III. v. 1 *seq.*).

More strong than are the gates of death or hell?
What faintness should dismay our courages,
When we are thus defenc'd against our foe,
And have no terror but his threatening looks?

Enter another, kneeling to the GOVERNOR.

Cit. My lord, if ever you did deed of ruth,
And now will work a refuge to our lives,
Offer submission, hang up flags of truce,
That Tamburlaine may pity our distress,
And use us like a loving conqueror.
Though this be held his last day's dreadful siege,
Wherein he spareth neither man nor child,
Yet are there Christians of Georgia here,
Whose state he ever pitied and reliev'd,
Will get his pardon, if your grace would send.

Gov. How is my soul environed!
And this eternised city Babylon
Fill'd with a pack of faint-heart fugitives
That thus entreat their shame and servitude!

Another. My lord, if ever you will win our hearts,
Yield up the town, save our wives and children;
For I will cast myself from off these walls,
Or die some death of quickest violence,
Before I bide the wrath of Tamburlaine.

Gov. Villains, cowards, traitors to our state!
Fall to the earth, and pierce the pit of hell,

24. Prefix *Cit.*] *Add. Dyce.* 32. *he*] *was* O_2. 38. *you*] *ye* O_2. 39. *save*] *and save* O_4.

31–2. *Christians . . . he ever pitied and reliev'd*] The historical Tamburlaine was, of course, peculiarly merciless to Christians; it was the faithful followers of Islam who sometimes obtained mercy from him. It is difficult to say what allusion gave Marlowe this idea, but it bears the marks of a piece of more or less irrelevant information set down here because it happened to come back to the memory.

34. *How . . . environed*] Various emendations have been suggested to complete this metrically defective line. Wagner suggested prefixing 'Alas!' or 'Ay me!' and Broughton, Bullen and Dyce suggested adding 'with cares' or 'with grief'.

That legions of tormenting spirits may vex
Your slavish bosoms with continual pains!
I care not, nor the town will never yield
As long as any life is in my breast.

Enter THERIDAMAS *and* TECHELLES, *with other* Soldiers.

Ther. Thou desperate governor of Babylon,
To save thy life, and us a little labour,
Yield speedily the city to our hands,
Or else be sure thou shalt be forc'd with pains
More exquisite than ever traitor felt.
Gov. Tyrant, I turn the traitor in thy throat,
And will defend it in despite of thee.
Call up the soldiers to defend these walls.
Tech. Yield, foolish governor; we offer more
Than ever yet we did to such proud slaves
As durst resist us till our third day's siege.
Thou seest us prest to give the last assault,
And that shall bide no more regard of parlie.
Gov. Assault and spare not; we will never yield.

[*Alarms: and they scale the walls.*

Enter TAMBURLAINE, *with* USUMCASANE, AMYRAS *and* CELEBINUS, *with others; the two spare kings.*

Tamb. The stately buildings of fair Babylon.
Whose lofty pillars, higher than the clouds,
Were wont to guide the seaman in the deep,
Being carried thither by the cannon's force,
Now fill the mouth of Limnasphaltis' lake,
And make a bridge unto the battered walls.
Where Belus, Ninus and great Alexander

49. Prefix *Ther.*] *Add. Rob.* 58. *Than*] *Then* O_3 O_4. 64. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

69–70. *Where Belus . . . triumphs Tamburlaine*] The three successive masters of Babylon here come before Tamburlaine: Belus, the legendary founder, himself the son of Poseidon; Ninus, the hardly less legendary founder of the empire of Nineveh, whose queen,

Have rode in triumph, triumphs Tamburlaine,
Whose chariot wheels have burst th' Assyrians' bones,
Drawn with these kings on heaps of carcasses.
Now in the place where fair Semiramis,
Courted by kings and peers of Asia,
Hath trod the measures, do my soldiers march;
And in the streets, where brave Assyrian dames
Have rid in pomp like rich Saturnia,
With furious words and frowning visages
My horsemen brandish their unruly blades.

Enter THERIDAMAS *and* TECHELLES, *bringing the* GOVERNOR OF BABYLON.

Who have ye there, my lords?
Ther. The sturdy governor of Babylon,
That made us all the labour for the town,
And used such slender reckoning of your majesty.
Tamb. Go, bind the villain; he shall hang in chains
Upon the ruins of this conquered town.—
Sirrah, the view of our vermilion tents,
Which threatened more than if the region
Next underneath the element of fire
Were full of comets and of blazing stars,
Whose flaming trains should reach down to the earth,
Could not affright you; no, nor I myself,
The wrathful messenger of mighty Jove,
That with his sword hath quail'd all earthly kings,
Could not persuade you to submission,
But still the ports were shut: villain, I say,

83. *of*] *for* O_4. *your*] *you* O_1. 87. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

Semiramis, built the famous walls of Babylon, and Alexander of Macedon, who overcame the then effete Babylonian empire in 331 B.C.

71. *burst*] broken. Broughton aptly cites, 'You will not pay for glasses you have burst.' *Tam. Shrew* (*Induction*).

77. *Saturnia*] a relatively frequent epithet for Juno, occurs in the writings of both Ovid and Virgil. See, especially, *Aen.*, I. 23 and *Metam.*, IV. 464.

95. *ports*] gates. Cf. I, II. i. 42.

Should I but touch the rusty gates of hell,
The triple headed Cerberus would howl,
And wake black Jove to crouch and kneel to me;
But I have sent volleys of shot to you,
Yet could not enter till the breach was made.
Gov. Nor, if my body could have stopt the breach,
Shouldst thou have entered, cruel·Tamburlaine.
'Tis not thy bloody tents can make me yield,
Nor yet thyself, the anger of the highest;
For, though thy cannon shook the city walls,
My heart did never quake, or courage faint.
Tamb. Well, now I'll make it quake. Go draw him up,
Hang him in chains upon the city walls,
And let my soldiers shoot the slave to death.
Gov. Vile monster, born of some infernal hag,
And sent from hell to tryrannise on earth,
Do all thy worst; nor death, nor Tamburlaine,
Torture, or pain, can daunt my dreadless mind.
Tamb. Up with him, then! his body shall be scarred.
Gov. But, Tamburlaine, in Limnasphaltis' lake
There lies more gold than Babylon is worth,
Which, when the city was besieg'd, I hid:
Save but my life, and I will give it thee.
Tamb. Then, for all your valour, you would save your life?
Whereabout lies it?
Gov. Under a hollow bank, right opposite
Against the western gate of Babylon.

98. *wake*] *make* O_4. 105. *city*] *om.* O_4. 107. *him*] *it* O_2. 114. *scarred*] *seard* O_3 O_4. 116. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

98. *black Jove*] again Pluto, the Jove of the black, infernal regions.

114. *scarred*] The reading of O_1 O_2 is 'scard' which could stand equally for the modern 'scarred' or 'scared', of which, 'scarred' seems preferable here. The reading of O_3 O_4, 'seard', was adopted by Robinson (from O_4; O_3 was, of course, unknown to previous editors).

115–22. *in Limnasphaltis' lake . . . gate of Babylon*] None of the sources which Marlowe is generally believed to have used mention this episode, but there is a curious parallel in Schiltberger's account of the taking of Babylon; the King of Babylon kept his treasure in a fortress apart (possibly Alindsha on the Araxes) and Timûr diverted the river in order to reach it.

Tamb. Go thither, some of you, and take his gold:—
The rest forward with execution.
Away with him hence, let him speak no more.
I think I make your courage something quail.
When this is done, we'll march from Babylon,
And make our greatest haste to Persia.
These jades are broken winded and half tir'd;
Unharness them, and let me have fresh horse.
So; now their best is done to honour me,
Take them and hang them both up presently.
Treb. Vild tyrant! barbarous, bloody Tamburlaine!
Tamb. Take them away, Theridamas; see them despatched.
Ther. I will, my lord.
[*Exit with the Kings of Trebizon and Soria.*
Tamb. Come, Asian viceroys; to your tasks a while,
And take such fortune as your fellows felt.
Orc. First let thy Scythian horse tear both our limbs,
Rather than we should draw thy chariot,
And, like base slaves, abject our princely minds
To vile and ignominious servitude.
Jer. Rather lend me thy weapon, Tamburlaine,
That I may sheathe it in this breast of mine.
A thousand deaths could not torment our hearts
More than the thought of this doth vex our souls.
Amy. They will talk still, my lord, if you do not bridle them.
Tamb. Bridle them, and let me to my coach.
They bridle them.—[*The Governor of Babylon appears hanging in chains on the walls.—Re-enter* THERIDAMAS.
Amy. See now, my lord, how brave the captain hangs.
Tamb. 'Tis brave indeed, my boy: well done!
Shoot first, my lord, and then the rest shall follow.

133. *Vild*] *wild* O_4. 135. S D.] *Add. Dyce.* 145. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4. 147. S D. *The . . . Theridamas*] *Add. Dyce.*

133. *Vild*] a common form of 'vile' which appears to be used interchangeably with it.

140. *abject*] abase. Cf. abjection of I, v. ii. 204.

Ther. Then have at him, to begin withal.

Theridamas shoots.

Gov. Yet save my life, and let this wound appease
The mortal fury of great Tamburlaine!

Tamb. No, though Asphaltis' lake were liquid gold,
And offer'd me as ransom for thy life,
Yet shouldst thou die.—Shoot at him all at once.

They shoot.

So, now he hangs like Bagdet's governor,
Having as many bullets in his flesh
As there be breaches in her battered wall.
Go now, and bind the burghers hand and foot,
And cast them headlong in the city's lake.
Tartars and Persians shall inhabit there;
And, to command the city, I will build
A citadel, that all Africa,
Which hath been subject to the Persian king,
Shall pay me tribute for, in Babylon.

Tech. What shall be done with their wives and children, my lord?

Tamb. Techelles, drown them all, man, woman and child;
Leave not a Babylonian in the town.

Tech. I will about it straight. Come, soldiers.

[Exit.

Tamb. Now, Casane, where's the Turkish Alcaron,

157. *Bagdet's*] *Badgets* O_3 O_4.

164. *A citadel . . . Africa*] This line appears metrically defective, but perhaps the missing syllable may be accounted for by a dramatic pause after 'citadel'. Bullen conjectured 'lofty citadel' and Broughton 'Arabia'.

172, *seq. where's the Turkish Alcaron etc.*] This passage has been generally regarded as the objective of Greene's denunciation when he speaks of 'daring God out of heaven with that atheist Tamburlaine', though in point of fact it is by no means the only passage in the play to which these lines could be applied. For the significance of the reference, see *Introduction*. There is no precedent that I know for this conversion and attack upon Mahomet in the biographies. A few of the European historians, among them Perondinus, expressly describe Tamburlaine's respect for Mahometan shrines and the esteem in which he held their sages and priests, while the fact is a commonplace in the oriental accounts and in Schiltberger's narrative. '. . . Religione tactus, seu potius secreto quodam (uti forsan credi par est) afflatus numine, Mahomethanorum

And all the heaps of superstitious books
Found in the temples of that Mahomet
Whom I have thought a god? they shall be burnt.
Usum. Here they are, my lord.
Tamb. Well said. Let there be a fire presently.
[*They light a fire.*
In vain, I see, men worship Mahomet:
My sword hath sent millions of Turks to hell,
Slew all his priests, his kinsmen and his friends,
And yet I live untouched by Mahomet.
There is a God, full of revenging wrath,
From whom the thunder and the lightning breaks,
Whose scourge I am, and him will I obey.
So, Casane; fling them in the fire.
[*They burn the books.*
Now, Mahomet, if thou have any power,
Come down thyself and work a miracle.
Thou art not worthy to be worshipped
That suffers flames of fire to burn the writ
Wherein the sum of thy religion rests.
Why send'st thou not a furious whirlwind down,
To blow thy Alcaron up to thy throne,
Where men report thou sitt'st by God himself,
Or vengeance on the head of Tamburlaine
That shakes his sword against thy majesty,
And spurns the abstracts of thy foolish laws?
Well soldiers, Mahomet remains in hell;
He cannot hear the voice of Tamburlaine:
Seek out another godhead to adore;
The God that sits in heaven, if any god,
For he is God alone, and none but he.

[*Re-enter* TECHELLES

177. S.D.] *Add. Dyce.* 184. *will I*] *I wil(l)* O_3 O_4. 185. S.D.] *Add. Dyce.* 191. *send'st*] *sends* O_3 O_4 193. *sitt'st*] *sits* O_3 O_4. 194. *head*] *blood* O_4. 197. *Mahomet*] *Mahowet* O_3. 201. S.D.] *Add. Dyce.*

delubris pepercit, quae adhuc praecellenti structura pulcherri- ma visuntur' (*Perondinus*, Cap. xxiii).

Tech. I have fulfill'd your highness' will, my lord;
Thousands of men, drown'd in Asphaltis' lake,
Have made the water swell above the banks,
And fishes, fed by human carcasses,
Amazed, swim up and down upon the waves,
As when they swallow assafitida,
Which makes them fleet aloft and gasp for air.
Tamb. Well, then, my friendly lords, what now remains,
But that we leave sufficient garrison,
And presently depart to Persia,
To triumph after all our victories?
Ther. Ay, good my lord, let us in haste to Persia;
And let this captain be remov'd the walls
To some high hill about the city here.
Tamb. Let it be so; about it, soldiers.
But stay; I feel myself distempered suddenly.
Tech. What is it dares distemper Tamburlaine?
Tamb. Something, Techelles; but I know not what.
But, forth, ye vassals! whatsoe'er it be,
Sickness or death can never conquer me.

Exeunt.

SCENE II

Enter CALLAPINE, AMASIA, *with drums and trumpets.*

Call. King of Amasia, now our mighty host
Marcheth in Asia Major, where the streams
Of Euphrates and Tigris swiftly runs;
And here may we behold great Babylon,

205. *fed*] *Rob. etc. feed* O_{1-4}. 206. *upon*] *om.* O_3 O_4. 208. *gasp*] *gape* O_2. 213. *in*] *om.* O_3 O_4. 220. *whatsoe'er*] *what soever* O_4.

Scene ii.

4. *may we*] *we may* O_4.

205. *fishes*] Marlowe's imagination misled him slightly when he introduced fishes into the bituminous lake of Babylon.

208. *fleet*] float.

Circled about with Limnasphaltis' lake,
Where Tamburlaine with all his army lies,
Which being faint and weary with the siege,
We may lie ready to encounter him
Before his host be full from Babylon,
And so revenge our latest grievous loss,
If God or Mahomet send any aid.

Ama. Doubt not, my lord, but we shall conquer him;
The monster that hath drunk a sea of blood,
And yet gapes still for more to quench his thirst,
Our Turkish swords shall headlong send to hell;
And that vile carcass, drawn by warlike kings,
The fowls shall eat; for never sepulchre
Shall grace that base-born tyrant Tamburlaine.

Call. When I record my parents' slavish life,
Their cruel death, mine own captivity,
My viceroys' bondage under Tamburlaine,
Methinks I could sustain a thousand deaths,
To be reveng'd of all his villany.
Ah, sacred Mahomet, thou that hast seen
Millions of Turks perish by Tamburlaine,
Kingdoms made waste, brave cities sacked and burnt,
And but one host is left to honour thee,
Aid thy obedient servant Callapine,
And make him, after all these overthrows,
To triumph over cursed Tamburlaine!

Ama. Fear not, my lord: I see great Mahomet,
Clothed in purple clouds, and on his head
A chaplet brighter than Apollo's crown,
Marching about the air with armed men,
To join with you against this Tamburlaine.

18. *that*] *this* O_2. 19. *parents'*] *Parens* O_2. 33. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

Scene ii.

19. *record*] Frequent in Elizabethan English in the sense either of 'call to mind' or of 'set down'. The N.E.D. cites Palsgr. 681–2: 'When I recorde the gentyll wordes he hath had unto me, it maketh my herte full sorye for hym.'

Capt. Renowmed general, mighty Callapine,
Though God himself and holy Mahomet
Should come in person to resist your power,
Yet might your mighty host encounter all,
And pull proud Tamburlaine upon his knees
To sue for mercy at your highness' feet.
Call. Captain, the force of Tamburlaine is great,
His fortune greater, and the victories
Wherewith he hath so sore dismayed the world
Are greatest to discourage all our drifts;
Yet when the pride of Cynthia is at full,
She wanes again; and so shall his, I hope;
For we have here the chief selected men
Of twenty several kingdoms at the least;
Nor ploughman, priest, nor merchant stays at home;
All Turkey is in arms with Callapine;
And never will we sunder camps and arms
Before himself or his be conquered:
This is the time that must eternise me
For conquering the tyrant of the world.
Come, soldiers, let us lie in wait for him,
And if we find him absent from his camp,
Or that it be rejoin'd again at full,
Assail it, and be sure of victory. *Exeunt.*

SCENE III

THERIDAMAS, TECHELLES, USUMCASANE.

Ther. Weep, heavens, and vanish into liquid tears!
Fall, stars that govern his nativity,
And summon all the shining lamps of heaven

Scene iii.

1. Prefix *Ther*] *Add. Dyce om.* O_{1-4}.

Scene iii.

The almost strophic form of the earlier part of this scene may be compared with the early part of II, II. iv.

To cast their bootless fires to the earth,
And shed their feeble influence in the air;
Muffle your beauties with eternal clouds,
For hell and darkness pitch their pitchy tents,
And Death, with armies of Cimmerian spirits,
Gives battle 'gainst the heart of Tamburlaine.
Now, in defiance of that wonted love
Your sacred virtues pour'd upon his throne,
And made his state an honour to the heavens,
These cowards invisibly assail his soul,
And threaten conquest on our sovereign;
But if he die, your glories are disgrac'd,
Earth droops and says that hell in heaven is plac'd.

Tech. O, then, ye powers that sway eternal seats,
And guide this massy substance of the earth,
If you retain desert of holiness,
As your supreme estates instruct our thoughts,
Be not inconstant, careless of your fame,
Bear not the burden of your enemies' joys,
Triumphing in his fall whom you advanc'd;
But as his birth, life, health and majesty
Were strangely blest and governed by heaven,
So honour, heaven, till heaven dissolved be,
His birth, his life, his health and majesty!

Usum. Blush, heaven, to lose the honour of thy name,
To see thy footstool set upon thy head;
And let no baseness in thy haughty breast
Sustain a shame of such inexcellence,
To see the devils mount in angels' thrones,
And angels dive into the pools of hell.
And, though they think their painful date is out,
And that their power is puissant as Jove's,

13. *invisibly*] *invincible* O_2. 31. *inexcellence*] *inexcellencie* O_2.

4. *bootless*] unavailing.
8. *Cimmerian*] black, infernal.
20. *estates*] states, positions.
29. *To see . . . thy head*] A reminiscence of Psalm cx. 1.
35. *puissant*] here trisyllabic, an unusual accent.

Which makes them manage arms against thy state,
Yet make them feel the strength of Tamburlaine,
Thy instrument and note of majesty,
Is greater far than they can thus subdue;
For, if he die, thy glory is disgrac'd,
Earth droops and says that hell in heaven is plac'd.

[*Enter* TAMBURLAINE, *drawn by the captive kings*, AMYRAS, CELEBINUS, *and* Physicians.

Tamb. What daring god torments my body thus,
And seeks to conquer mighty Tamburlaine?
Shall sickness prove me now to be a man,
That have been term'd the terror of the world?
Techelles and the rest, come, take your swords,
And threaten him whose hand afflicts my soul:
Come, let us march against the powers of heaven,
And set black streamers in the firmament,
To signify the slaughter of the gods.
Ah, friends, what shall I do? I cannot stand.
Come, carry me to war against the gods,
That thus envy the health of Tamburlaine.

Ther. Ah, good my lord, leave these impatient words,
Which add much danger to your malady!

Tamb. Why, shall I sit and languish in this pain?
No, strike the drums, and, in revenge of this,
Come, let us charge our spears, and pierce his breast
Whose shoulders bear the axis of the world,
That, if I perish, heaven and earth may fade.

37. *Tamburlaine*] *Tarburlain* O_2. 41. S.D.] *Add. Wagner.* 43. *Tamburlaine*] *ramburlaine* O_2.

36. *manage*] a more technical term in Elizabethan than in modern English applied to the expert control of arms, horses or anything else which can be handled.

38. *note*] here with the force of the Latin *nota*, a distinguishing quality or mark.

42 *seq. What daring god, etc.*] Marlowe has no precedent for the death-scene of Tamburlaine. Most of the historians pass it over with a brief statement of the fact.

59. *Whose shoulders . . . world*] Atlas is more properly described as supporting, not the world, but the heavens and all the stars.

Theridamas, haste to the court of Jove;
Will him to send Apollo hither straight,
To cure me, or I'll fetch him down myself.
Tech. Sit still, my gracious lord; this grief will cease,
And cannot last, it is so violent.
Tamb. Not last, Techelles! no, for I shall die.
See, where my slave, the ugly monster death,
Shaking and quivering, pale and wan for fear,
Stands aiming at me with his murdering dart,
Who flies away at every glance I give,
And, when I look away, comes stealing on!
Villain, away, and hie thee to the field!
I and mine army come to load thy bark
With souls of thousand mangled carcasses.
Look, where he goes! but, see, he comes again,
Because I stay! Techelles, let us march,
And weary Death with bearing souls to hell.
Phy. Pleaseth your majesty to drink this potion,
Which will abate the fury of your fit,
And cause some milder spirits govern you.
Tamb. Tell me, what think you of my sickness now?
First Phy. I view'd your urine, and the hypostasis,
Thick and obscure, both make your danger great;
Your veins are full of accidental heat,
Whereby the moisture of your blood is dried:
The humidum and calor, which some hold

64. *cease*] *case* O_3. 73. *bark*] *back(e)* O_3 O_4. 82. *hypostasis*] *Rob., etc. Hipostates* O_{1-4} 85. *moisture*] *moister* O_3

64–5. Tilley and Ray again find this idea proverbial and of frequent contemporary occurrence, tracing it to Aristotle's 'Nullum violentium est perpetuum'.

67–71. *See where . . . stealing on*] Miss Seaton (*R.E.S.*, 1929) finds a parallel for these lines in the description of the man with a spear, one of the three portents recorded by André Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle* ([1575], I, f. 308) as preceding the death of Tamburlaine. Marlowe has naturally rejected the description of the ghost of Bajazet which terrified the Scythian to death and has reduced the part played by the comet, described by Perondinus and others.

73 *bark*] Death is here temporarily identified with Charon

82. *hypostasis*] is Robinson's conjecture, followed by subsequent editors, for 'Hipostates' of the octavos.

84 *accidental*] in excess of the necessary and normal degree.

86. *humidum and calor*] mois-

Is not a parcel of the elements,
But of a substance more divine and pure,
Is almost clean extinguished and spent;
Which, being the cause of life, imports your death.
Besides, my lord, this day is critical,
Dangerous to those whose crisis is as yours:
Your artiers, which alongst the veins convey
The lively spirits which the heart engenders,
Are parched and void of spirit, that the soul,
Wanting those organons by which it moves,
Cannot endure, by argument of art.
Yet, if your majesty may escape this day,
No doubt but you shall soon recover all.

Tamb. Then will I comfort all my vital parts,
And live, in spite of death, above a day.

Alarm within.

[*Enter a* Messenger.

Mes. My lord, young Callapine, that lately fled from your majesty, hath now gathered a fresh army, and, hearing your absence in the field, offers to set upon us presently.

Tamb. See, my physicians, now, how Jove hath sent
A present medicine to recure my pain!
My looks shall make them fly; and, might I follow,
There should not one of all the villain's power

101. S D. *Enter a Messenger*] *Add Dyce.* 104. *upon*] *on* O_2.

ture and warmth, presumably here in combination and therefore the sanguine humour Parr regards these as separate; the moisture and the innate bodily heat The physician goes on to suggest that this humour is by some regarded as a divine essence and not a combination of physical elements

91 *critical*] The physician is, presumably, something of an astrologer and alchemist, and knows by the stars what days are favourable for certain diseases and for the attempting of cures. Cf. ll 98–9 below.

96 *organons*] are, properly, 'instruments'. The physician's explanation is: 'Your arteries which convey to the veins the sanguine spirit (i.e. blood) which the heart produces, are dried and empty, so that your soul is deprived of the spirit by which it moves and therefore, by all the rules of the physician's art, cannot continue' It may be noted that, in Marlowe's system of physiology, the blood is half a physical, half a spiritual thing, as the physician himself suggests in ll. 86–8 above.

106. *recure*] cure.

Live to give offer of another fight.

Usum. I joy, my lord, your highness is so strong,
That can endure so well your royal presence,
Which only will dismay the enemy.

Tamb. I know it will, Casane. Draw, you slaves!
In spite of death, I will go show my face.

[*Alarm. Tamburlaine goes in and comes out again with all the rest.*

Tamb. Thus are the villains, cowards fled for fear,
Like summer's vapours vanished by the sun;
And, could I but a while pursue the field,
That Callapine should be my slave again.
But I perceive my martial strength is spent:
In vain I strive and rail against those powers
That mean t' invest me in a higher throne,
As much too high for this disdainful earth.
Give me a map; then let me see how much
Is left for me to conquer all the world,
That these, my boys, may finish all my wants.

[*One brings a map.*

Here I began to march towards Persia,
Along Armenia and the Caspian Sea,
And thence unto Bithynia, where I took
The Turk and his great empress prisoners.
Then marched I into Egypt and Arabia;
And here, not far from Alexandria,

122. *too*] *to* O_3 O_4 128 *unto*] *to* O_4

115. *villains, cowards*] the uniform reading of the octavos, Robinson and most subsequent editors would read 'villain', thus making the first word an adjective

126 *seq. Here I began to march* seq] For comments upon the names mentioned here, see the previous references in the text, and notes.

131–5. *not far from Alexandria . . . sail to India*] Ellis, in commenting upon this passage, draws attention to Sesostris, who had already anticipated the Suez Canal, by cutting a passage through from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea His work was ultimately finished by Ptolemy Philadelphus II about 277 B C It silted up for a time, and was restored by Amron, the Arab conqueror of Egypt, but was finally filled up by Ali Mansour in 775. Nearer still to Marlowe's own time came the project of Niccolo da Conti, which the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt prevented the Vene-

Whereas the Terrene and the Red Sea meet,
Being distant less than full a hundred leagues,
I meant to cut a channel to them both,
That men might quickly sail to India.
From thence to Nubia near Borno lake,
And so along the Ethiopian sea,
Cutting the tropic line of Capricorn,
I conquered all as far as Zanzibar.
Then, by the northern part of Africa,
I came at last to Græcia, and from thence
To Asia, where I stay against my will;
Which is from Scythia, where I first began,
Backward and forwards near five thousand leagues.
Look here, my boys; see what a world of ground
Lies westward from the midst of Cancer's line
Unto the rising of this earthly globe,
Whereas the sun, declining from our sight,
Begins the day with our Antipodes!
And shall I die, and this unconquered?
Lo, here, my sons, are all the golden mines,
Inestimable drugs and precious stones,
More worth than Asia and the world beside;
And from th'Antarctic Pole eastward behold
As much more land, which never was descried,
Wherein are rocks of pearl that shine as bright
As all the lamps that beautify the sky!
And shall I die, and this unconquered?
Here, lovely boys, what death forbids my life,

133. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4. 140. *northern*] *Northren* O_3 O_4. 143. *began*] *begun* O_4. 144. *five*] *fine* O_3. 147. *this*] *the* O_4. 153. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

tian Republic from carrying out. This latest attempt had probably come to Marlowe's ears and was added to the list of Tamburlaine's schemes and achievements.

149. *our Antipodes*] here, the dwellers in the Western Hemisphere, and the southern half of it (that is, South America, the source of Spanish gold and the riches of the fabulous El Dorado).

154–5. *from th' Antarctic Pole eastward . . . descried*] This is the continent of Australasia never yet 'descried' but already the subject of vague rumour.

159–60. *what death forbids . . . in spite of death*] Tamburlaine

That let your lives command in spite of death.
Amy. Alas, my lord, how should our bleeding hearts,
Wounded and broken with your highness' grief,
Retain a thought of joy or spark of life?
Your soul gives essence to our wretched subjects,
Whose matter is incorporate in your flesh.
Cel. Your pains do pierce our souls; no hope survives,
For by your life we entertain our lives.
Tamb. But sons, this subject, not of force enough
To hold the fiery spirit it contains,
Must part, imparting his impressions
By equal portions into both your breasts;
My flesh, divided in your precious shapes,
Shall still retain my spirit, though I die,
And live in all your seeds immortally.
Then now remove me, that I may resign
My place and proper title to my son.
First, take my scourge and my imperial crown,
And mount my royal chariot of estate,

165. *incorporate*] *incorporoat* O_1 171 *into*] *unto* O_4. 174 *your*] *our* O_4.

almost regains for a moment in these lines and those that precede them, the splendour of his early years led by wonder and the desire of discovery rather than of aggression and destruction.

164–5, 168–74. *Your soul . . . your flesh, this subject . . . immortally*] With these lines may be compared the words of Tamburlaine in IV. i. 112–15 (see notes *ad loc.*). The soul of Tamburlaine has imparted to his sons the spirit that animates them, their bodies being similarly part of his flesh. Tamburlaine replies that he himself, however ('this subject'), is not strong enough to hold any longer the fiery spirit it contains and must divide the power of that spirit ('his impressions') between his two sons, who are thus the inheritors alike of his body and of his soul. This conception of the relations of spirit and body is derived from Aristotle's doctrine that the form of the parent is repeated in the offspring. Collier's suggested emendation of 'substance' for 'subject' in l. 168 seems not to take account of this phraseology, with which Marlowe was obviously familiar.

166–7. *Your pains . . . our lives*] The words of Celebinus are a sufficient promise of his future failure as ruler of his father's empire; indeed, the speeches of the two sons throughout this scene suggest only imitative docility and give no hint of originality. Marlowe must have recalled here the accounts of the historians who, whether they commend or disparage the sons of Tamburlaine, agree that they were incapable of carrying on their father's work.

That I may see thee crown'd before I die.
Help me, my lords, to make my last remove.
Ther. A woeful change, my lord, that daunts our thoughts
More than the ruin of our proper souls.
Tamb. Sit up, my son, let me see how well
Thou wilt become thy father's majesty.
[*They crown him.*
Amy. With what a flinty bosom should I joy
The breath of life and burden of my soul,
If not resolv'd into resolved pains,
My body's mortified lineaments
Should exercise the motions of my heart,
Pierc'd with the joy of any dignity!
O father, if the unrelenting ears
Of death and hell be shut against my prayers,
And that the spiteful influence of heaven
Deny my soul fruition of her joy,
How should I step or stir my hateful feet
Against the inward powers of my heart,
Leading a life that only strives to die,
And plead in vain unpleasing sovereignty?
Tamb. Let not thy love exceed thine honour, son,
Nor bar thy mind that magnanimity
That nobly must admit necessity.
Sit up, my boy, and with those silken reins
Bridle the steeled stomachs of those jades.

182. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4 183–4 (*Printed as prose in* O_3 O_4) 188 *lineaments*] *laments* O_3 O_4 202 *those*] *these* O_3 O_4 203 *those*] *these* O_3 O_4.

185–90. *With what a flinty bosom . . . any dignity*] This passage is a little obscure, partly, I think, from extreme condensation. Amyras's words may be interpreted: 'How hard a heart I should have if I could enjoy my life and the possession of my soul and if my body were not dissolved in extreme pain (l. 187) and sympathetically afflicted (l. 188) and could still direct the movements of a heart that was touched to joy by such things as earthly dignities.' The idea behind the words 'burden' and 'mortified' is slightly confused; Amyras, while describing the insensitiveness that must have been his had he rejoiced at this moment, applies to himself words that indicate the suffering, inconsistent with that insensitiveness, which he does indeed feel.

Ther. My lord, you must obey his majesty,
Since fate commands and proud necessity.
Amy. Heavens witness me with what a broken heart
And damned spirit I ascend this seat,
And send my soul, before my father die,
His anguish and his burning agony!
Tamb. Now fetch the hearse of fair Zenocrate;
Let it be plac'd by this my fatal chair,
And serve as parcel of my funeral.
Usum. Then feels your majesty no sovereign ease,
Nor may our hearts, all drown'd in tears of blood,
Joy any hope of your recovery?
Tamb. Casane, no; the monarch of the earth,
And eyeless monster that torments my soul,
Cannot behold the tears ye shed for me,
And therefore still augments his cruelty.
Tech. Then let some god oppose his holy power
Against the wrath and tyranny of death,
That his tear-thirsty and unquenched hate
May be upon himself reverberate!
[*They bring in the hearse.*
Tamb. Now, eyes, enjoy your latest benefit,
And, when my soul hath virtue of your sight,
Pierce through the coffin and the sheet of gold,
And glut your longings with a heaven of joy.
So reign, my son; scourge and control those slaves,
Guiding thy chariot with thy father's hand.
As precious is the charge thou undertak'st
As that which Clymene's brain-sick son did guide

230. *undertak'st*] *undetakest* O_3 *undertakest* O_4 231. *Clymene's*] *Clymeus* O_1 O_3 O_4.

225. *when my soul hath virtue of your sight*] The implication in this line is the familiar stoic belief that the body and its senses clog the spirit, which will exercise finer spiritual senses when it is freed from the body. When Tamburlaine's soul is freed and has the power of vision now vested only in the eyes of his body, he will see the spirit of Zenocrate

231. *Clymene's brain-sick son*] See I, IV. II 49, and note. Here again the octavos read Clymeus, with the exception of O_3.

When wandering Phœbe's ivory cheeks were scorched,
And all the earth, like Ætna, breathing fire.
Be warned by him, then; learn with awful eye
To sway a throne as dangerous as his;
For, if thy body thrive not full of thoughts
As pure and fiery as Phyteus' beams,
The nature of these proud rebelling jades
Will take occasion by the slenderest hair,
And draw thee piecemeal, like Hippolytus,
Through rocks more steep and sharp than Caspian clifts:
The nature of thy chariot will not bear
A guide of baser temper than myself,
More than heaven's coach the pride of Phaeton.
Farewell, my boys! my dearest friends, farewell!
My body feels, my soul doth weep to see
Your sweet desires depriv'd my company,
For Tamburlaine, the scourge of God, must die.

Amy. Meet heaven and earth, and here let all things end,
For earth hath spent the pride of all her fruit,
And heaven consum'd his choicest living fire!
Let earth and heaven his timeless death deplore,
For both their worths will equal him no more.

FINIS

232. *Phœbe's*] *Phœbus* O_4. 239. *slenderest*] *slenderst* O_3. 240. *thee*] *me* O_4. 243. *than*] *then* O_3 O_4.

236. Here there is, for a moment, a complete recovery of the Tamburlaine of the earlier play, 'Like his desire, lift upward and divine.' *Phyteus*] Pythius, an unusual form, but the spelling 'Phyton' for 'Python' occurs in Lydgate's *Warres of Troy* (II. sig. K.vi) as Dyce pointed out: 'And of Phyton that Phœbus made thus fine.' Lydgate's reference is to Python, the fabulous serpent slain by Apollo, Marlowe's to Apollo himself, Pythius, named thus from the slaying of the serpent.

238–9. Tilley and Ray again note the proverbial reference.

240. For the story of Hippolytus, the account of Virgil (*Aen.*, VII. 761) and Seneca's play are likelier sources than Euripides.

249–53. *Meet heaven and earth . . . him no more*] An epitaph worthy of a nobler object than the Tamburlaine of the later play. The general effect of these lines is very close to the choric epitaph of Faustus.

252. *timeless*] untimely, occurring out of its due time. N.E.D. cites *Trag. Richard*, II. (1560): 'Ile revenge thy tymlesse tragedye.'

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE TEXT OF *TAMBURLAINE*, I AND II

IN discussing the relations of the three then known texts of *Tamburlaine* in 1885,[1] Wagner demonstrated that the edition then known as the octavo of 1592 was derived from the 1590 (taking over a large number of its errors). Nothing has occurred since to suggest that it might be derived rather from any hypothetical intermediate edition, or independently from the same manuscript source, or, much less, from a different manuscript. Wagner's conclusion continues to stand. He then went on to demonstrate that the 1605/6 edition could not possibly be derived from the 1593 (1592), for none of the 130 errors (which he tabulated) by which the 1593 differ from the 1590, appear in 1605/6. In the absence of any other known edition, this led Wagner to his next conclusion, that 1605/6 must bear the same relation to 1590 as 1593 does, a conclusion which appeared to be confirmed by his note of some sixty-two apparent errors, appearing in all three editions.[2] It is interesting to be able to add to-day that in all these cases, without exception, the 1597 reading agrees with those of 1590, 1593 and 1605/6 even when they appear manifest errors, so that the supposition that the 1597 was intermediate between the 1590 and the 1605/6 is not invalidated by Wagner's evidence.

A consideration of the collations, indeed, makes the position of the 1597 octavo clear. In Part I of the play, for example, the 1597 text agrees with the 1590 only or with the 1590 and one other, in about 35 per cent. of the total number of variations, whereas it never once agrees with the 1593 alone and only in about 22 per cent. cases with the 1593 in conjunction also

[1] *Marlowes Werke.* 1. *Tamburlaine.* Introduction, pp. xxiii–xxxi.

[2] A few of the versions which Wagner classifies as errors have been retained in the present edition as they seem, in the light of later criticism, to represent normal Elizabethan usages.

with the 1590 or the 1605/6. This suggests clearly that it is derived from the 1590 rather than from the 1593. Further, correspondence between 1593 and 1605/6 exclusively is, as has been shown by Wagner, extremely rare (about 1 per cent.) as is also that between 1605/6 and 1590 only (less than 7 per cent.). But the correspondences between 1597 and 1605/6 exclusively amount to 26 per cent. of the cases noted and those between 1597 and 1605/6 in combination with one other edition amount to some 43 per cent. cases. This suggests equally clearly that the 1597 text and not the 1590 or 1593 is the immediate source of the 1605/6 text.

Statistics such as these are liable to mislead unless we can be sure that the cases we have examined are all deliberately introduced and not fortuitous variations, but one or two instances of resemblance between 1597 and 1605/6 to which my attention was drawn by Professor Tucker Brooke, taken in conjunction with the foregoing evidence, place the matter in a less dubious light. In a certain number of cases the 1597 reading appears clearly intermediate to that of 1590 (or 1590 + 1593) and 1605/6. Thus, in Part I, IV. iv. 44 where 1590 and 1593 read 'slice', 1597 reads 'flice', explaining the nonsensical version 'fleece' of 1605.[1] But even more conclusive is the evidence of Part II, I. i. 63–4, where, as Professor Brooke says, l. 63, 'Is in 1597 the last line on page F_7 (recto). The catchword is "Illici = "; but l. 118 [2] is inserted as the first line of F_7 (verso), i.e. in the same erroneous sequence as in ed. 1606. The catchword at the foot of F_8 (recto) is "Fred", but F_8 (verso) commences with l. 119.[2] Thus the confused order of lines in ed. 1606 is explained: the edition of 1597 transposed line 118 [2] from the top of F_8 (verso) to the top of F_7 (verso), after the catchwords had been properly indicated. The printer of 1606 simply followed what he found in ed. 1597.'

In conclusion, then, the relations may be summarized thus: The text of 1590 is the *editio princeps* from which are derived, independently of each other, 1593 and 1597. The 1605/6 is derived from 1597.

[1] See also the reading cottges (1597) in the important and much-discussed line, v. ii. 124 and Part II, I. i. 29.

[2] The numbering here runs continuously from the beginning of Part II.

APPENDIX B

LATER EDITIONS

(*a*) COLLECTED

1. 1826. *The Works of Christopher Marlowe.* 3 vols. London. 1826. W. Pickering. 8vo.

No editor's name appears in this edition, but it has always been assumed to be by George Robinson. The edition is carelessly supervised and appears to have been put together with little regard for accuracy or even veracity. Dyce, coming after it, says: 'I characterize it as abounding in the grossest errors,'[1] and Professor Brooke sums up its editor's position when he says: 'Marlowe scholarship owes a considerable debt to his publishers, but practically nothing to him.'[2] It is in his copy of this edition that J. Broughton's valuable MS. notes on Marlowe's life and works are to be found.[3]

2. 1850. *The Works of Christopher Marlowe, with notes and some account of his life and writings.* 3 vols. 8vo, by the Rev. Alexander Dyce. London. Wm. Pickering. 1850. (1 vol. 1858.)

The introduction and notes to this edition contain much material which is still of great value. It was unlikely, Professor Brooke thought, 'that any other book will ever bring together more new information relating to this writer'.[4] The value of the text is a little diminished by the fact that Dyce set up his version from the 1593 octavo, a text which has been shown elsewhere[5] to be full of errors which are not common to the other texts. Dyce knew of the existence of the Bodleian copy of the 1590 octavo, but assumed, somewhat casually, that 'Perhaps the 8vo at Oxford and that in the British Museum (for I have not had an opportunity of comparing them) are the same impression differing only in the title-pages[6]', a statement of which the

[1] *The Works of Christopher Marlowe, etc.* (1850). Preface.
[2] *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe,* p. 390.
[3] B.M. 11771. d. 4.
[4] *Reputation,* p. 405. Recent work has to some extent falsified this prophecy.
[5] See *Introduction* and *Appendix A.*
[6] *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (1858), p. 3.

portion enclosed in brackets drew from Collier the laconic pencil note 'Why not?'[1]

3. 1870. *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* . . . with notes and introduction by Lt.-Col. Francis Cunningham. 1870.

This edition has some interesting notes upon the military terms in the play, but in other respects falls far below Dyce's edition and is based, of course, upon the same unsatisfactory 1593 text (though apparently only indirectly through Dyce's text.)[2] Cunningham also mentions a fictitious 1590 octavo in the Garrick collection of the British Museum Library, apparently meaning to refer to the 1593.[3]

4. 1885. *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, edited by A. H. Bullen, B.A. London, 1885. 3 vols.

The assumption that the 1590 and 1593 texts could be, for practical purposes, regarded as identical, persists also in this edition,[4] though Bullen examined for himself the 1593 and 1605/6 texts. The introduction contains one of the best general critical estimates of Marlowe that appears in any edition, though Bullen's enthusiastic praise tends to exalt Marlowe at the expense of other pre-Shakespearian dramatists.

5. 1885. *The Dramatic Works of Christopher Marlowe* (*selected*) *with a prefatory notice, Biographical and Critical.* By Percy E. Pinkerton. London. Walter Scott. 1885.

Tamburlaine is here represented by selections only. The introduction has some interesting suggestions and the editor's comments upon the lyric power of *Tamburlaine* are more judicious than some of his more general reflections.

6. 1887. *Christopher Marlowe* (*The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: Mermaid Series*), ed. Havelock Ellis. 1887.

This edition again adds little to the elucidation of the text.

[1] See the copy B.M. 11771. 666. 6, which contains J. P. Collier's pencil notes.

[2] On the condition of the text in this edition, Wagner speaks with some vigour: 'Ich habe Veranlassung gehabt, den Tamburlaine-text Cunninghams genau durchzuprüfen und finde keine einzige Stelle, die darauf hindeutete, dass er eine der alten Ausgaben auch nur angesehen hat.' (*Einleitung*, XXXV.)

[3] *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, p. 309.

[4] See Vol. I, pp. 3–4.

Its strength lies in the fine critical appreciations of Ellis and of J. A. Symonds (who contributed the general introduction to the series) and of occasional comments of the same kind in the annotations.

7–9. 1905-1909. Three serviceable reprints of *Tamburlaine* in collected editions of Marlowe's works were produced by Newnes (*The Plays and Poems of Christopher Marlowe.* 1905), by Routledge (*Marlowe's Dramatic Works.* [1906]) and by Dent in Everyman's Library (*The Plays of Christopher Marlowe.* 1909) with the valuable addition of the *True Tragedy.*

10. 1910. *The Works of Christopher Marlowe,* edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke. Oxford. 1910.

The text of *Tamburlaine* here presented is a more reliable reproduction of the 1590 text than is that of Wagner. The collations are not in all respects so exhaustive as those of Wagner, but the later editor has availed himself of much subsequent textual criticism and conjecture and has produced a text which only departs from 1590 in cases of strict necessity. This volume and that of Wagner were the first attempts to present a textually precise version of this play, while the introduction to the play sums up what was then known on the subject of its date, texts, stage history, authorship and sources.

11. 1912. *Christopher Marlowe* (*Masterpieces of English Drama*), ed. F. E. Schelling. With an introduction by W. L. Phelps. 1912.

12. 1930. *The Works and Life of Christopher Marlowe* (various editors). Methuen, 1930 seq. The standard edition.

(*b*) Separate Editions

1. 1818. An edition was apparently prepared by J. Broughton, but seems not to have been published. Professor Brooke was not able to trace a copy of it,[1] and the only contemporary mention of it known to me is Broughton's MS. note in his copy of the 1826 edition of Marlowe's works: [2] 'In an edition of *Tamburlaine* printed (but not published) 1818, I enumerated various circumstances which had occasioned me to be sceptical as to Marlowe's property in the play.'

[1] *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe,* p. 389.
[2] See Vol. I, p. xxi. B.M. 11771. d. 4.

2. 1885. *Marlowes Werke: 1. Tamburlaine.* her. v. Albrecht Wagner. Heilbronn. 1885.

This was the first attempt to establish accurately a text that should serve as the basis for future editions of this play, to examine the states and relations of the three then known early editions and to show, by an exhaustive series of collations, what were the variants and upon what material the deductions in the introduction were based. There is also some account of the relation of Marlowe's text to two of its sources with reproductions of significant passages. There may be mentioned here (3–5) the acting version prepared for the Yale University Dramatic Association in 1919, the plain text edited by W. A. Neilson in 1924, and the selected scenes edited by A. A. Cock (*Black's English Literature Series*) in 1927.[1]

6. 1930. *Tamburlaine the Great*, ed. U. M. Ellis-Fermor. (*The Works and Life of Christopher Marlowe.*) Methuen. 1930.

[1] Bakeless (ii. 343–4) notes some 8 subsequent editions without full critical apparatus.

APPENDIX C

THE FORESTE. (Book II, Chap. xiv. 1571.)

[*The Foreste or Collection of Histories no lesse profitable than pleasant and necessarie, dooen out of Frenche into Englische, by Thomas Fortescue,* is not a literal version of Mexia's life of Tamburlaine. *Silva de Varia Lection,* by Pedro Mexia, appeared first in Seville in 1542, and was reprinted and translated frequently for the rest of the century. The first translator was apparently Mambrino da Fabriano, whose volume *La selva di varia lettione* (1544) translates the Spanish fairly closely but abridges an important repetition of Mexia's. In the original, the story of Bajazet's relations with Tamburlaine is twice told, once in Part I, Chapter xiv, and again in the main entry under 'Tamburlaine' in Part II, Chapter xxviii. Mambrino, having translated the description of Tamburlaine's treatment of Bajazet at his meals and his use of him as a footstool in the first part, so abbreviates this passage in the second that no reference to the 'footstool' is found in the second version, though it is translated accurately (from Mexia's practically similar earlier account) in the first part. In 1552 Claude Gruget translated the book into French, using, as he implies, the Spanish and the Italian, but, as we suspect, mainly the Italian. In the passages that concern Bajazet and Tamburlaine, at least, he follows the Italian faithfully, even to the abridging of the same passage in the life of Tamburlaine. He tells us '. . . j'y ay donné quelque peu du mien en des passages qui, selon mon jugement, le requeroient.' More probably, he, like Fielding's Author, preferred to translate his Virgil out of Dryden. Fortescue (whose version of the life of Tamburlaine is given here) follows the same high-handed method with his original, with one notable advance, that he omits a series of five chapters in Part I, the last of which happens to be that which alone preserved the full account of the Turkish

emperor's fate. So that the story, by the time it reached English readers, had lost, by a gradual process of abridgement and omission, one essential detail at least of Mexia's story The most important differences between Fortescue's version and Mexia's will be indicated, where they occur, in the footnotes. Thomas C. Izard points out that, in his *English Myrror*, George Whetstone retains the description of the ' footstool ' and also the word ' tent ' which Fortescue had replaced by ' ensign ' and considers that *The Myrror* and not *The Foreste* is therefore the principal source. But there are echoes of *The Foreste* in *Tamburlaine*, which suggests that Marlowe had certainly read it either before or after *The Myrror*. Battenhouse (p. 13) refers to one in Fortescue I, xv, and another may occur in *Tamb.* I, v, 11, 5 (see my note). I doubt whether the case for entirely excluding *The Foreste* is altogether proven.]

CHAP. 14

There hath been amonge the *Grekes*, *Romaines*, the people of *Carthage*, and others, mightie [innitfie], worthy and famous capitaines, which as they were right valiaunt, and fortunate in war: so were they no lesse fortunate, in that some others by writynge commended their chiualrie to the posteritie for euer. But in our tyme we haue had one, in no respect inferiour to any of the others, in this one pointe not withstandyng lesse happie, that no man hath vouchsaued, by hys penne in any sorte to commende him, to the posteritie following. So that I, who moste desired some thynge to speake of hym, haue been forced to gether here, and there little peeces, and pamphlets, scarce lendyng you any shewe of his conquirous exploytes, the same also confusely, and with out any order. This then, of whom we speake, was that greate and mightie *Tamburlaine*: who in hys tender yeres was a poore labourer, or husbandman, or (as other some reporte) a common Soldiar, how be it, in the ende he became Lorde, of suche greate kingdomes and seignories, that he in no pointe was inferiour to that prince of the worlde, *Alexander*: or if he were, he yet came nexte him of any other, that euer liued. He raigned in the yere of our Lord God, a thousande, three hundred fower score and

16 The story of Tamburlaine's low birth is popular with the European historians and appears in the accounts of Chalcondylas, Fregoso, Cambinus, Cuspinian, Perondinus, Curio, Granucci, etc. It is unhistorical and does not appear in the majority of the eastern sources. Although it serves at first glance to heighten the miraculous impression of the saga, it is manifestly an impossible feat, and Marlowe alone, treating it as high poetry and not as history or romance, has induced us to give to it that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which can accept it.

tenne. Some suppose that he was a *Parthian* borne, a people lesse honorable, then dread of the *Romaines*: his father [farher] and mother, were verie poore, and needie: he notwithstanding was of honest and vertuous conditions, wel fewtred, valiant, healthie, quicke and nimble, sharpe witted also, of ripe, and mature deliberation, and iudgement, imaginyng, and deuising, haute and greate enterprises, euen in that his most, and extreame penurie, as though he some times shoulde be a maister of many thinges. He was of a valiant and inuincible corage, so that from his Cradle, and infancie, it seemed he was vowed to *Mars* and merciall affaires onely. Where vnto he gaue hym selfe, with suche paineful indeuour, that hardlye a man might iudge, whether he were more happie in deede, in advised counsel [cousel], or princely dexteritie. By meane of which his vertues, and others, that we shall here after remember, he in shorte tyme acquired such honour, and reputation, as is to be supposed man neuer shall do againe. His first beginning was, as writeth *Baptista Fulgotius*, that beyng the soonne of a poore manne, kepying cattle in the filde, liuyng there with other boyes of his age, and condition, was chosen in sport by the others for their kyng, and althought they had made in deede, this their election in plaie, he whose spirites were rauished, with greate, and high matters, forst theim to swere to him loialtie in al thinges, obeying hym as king, wher, or when, it should please hym, in any matter to commaunde theim. After this othe then, in solemne sorte ministred, he charged eache of theim forthwith, to sell their troope and cattell, leauing this seruile and base trade of life, seeking to serue in warre acceptyng hym for capitaine: whiche indeede they did, beyng quickly assembled of other worke men, and pastours,

2. Fortescue has mistranslated. Mexia reads: 'Gente que tan temida fue en tiempo de los Romanos, y que estava ya olvidada'; Mambrino, 'gente cosi temuta nel campo di Romani et hoggi cosi poco ricordata'; Gruget, 'peuple tant redouté du temps des Romains, et neanmoins peu renommez' (which shows incidentally that Gruget occasionally translated or mistranslated directly from the Spanish).

6. *seq.* The description of Tamburlaine's character here is a cento of comments from European historians which tally in many respects with those of the more favourable oriental accounts.

19. See *Baptiste Fulgosi* [= Fregoso] *de dictis factisque memorabilibus* (1518), Book III. Section 'De iis qui humili fortuna orti clarum sibi nomen vendicarunt.' The episode which follows is not mentioned by Marlowe, though it appears also in Perondinus. The germ of the story is to be found in the *Timur-Nameh* of Arabshah.

to the full number, at leaste, of fiue hundred : with whom the firste attempte, that euer he tooke in hande, was that they robde all suche marchauntes as anie where paste nigh theim, and after he imparted the spoyle so iustlie, that all his companions serued hym, with no lesse faithe then loue, and loyaltie, whiche occasioned sundrie others, a newe to seeke, and followe hym. Of whiche newes in the ende, the Kinge of *Persia* aduertised, sent forth vnder the conducte of one, of his capitaines, a thousande horses well appointed to apprehende and take hym : at whose commyng he so well knewe in this matter howe to beare hym, that of his enimie he soone had made hym, his assured frende, and companion : in suche sorte that they ioigned both their companies together, attempting, then before, enterprises much more greate, and more difficill. In the meane tyme a certaine discorde, or breache of amitie grewe, betwixte the Kyng of *Persia* and his brother, by occasion where of *Tamburlaine* tooke parte with the Kynges brother, where he so ordered the matter in suche sorte, that he deposed the King and aduaunced the other. After this, by this newe prince, in recompence of his seruice, he was ordained generall of the greater parte of his armie who vnder pretexte that he woulde conquire, and [ad] subdue, other prouinces to the *Persians*, mustered still, and gathered, more Souldiars at hys pleasure, with whom he so practised, that they easely reuolted like Rebels followyng hym, subduyng their Leage, and Soueraigne. This hauynge nowe deposed, whom he before aduaunced, he crouned hymself Kyng and Lorde of that countrie. Now moued with compassion, towardes his owne countrie, whiche long tymes had been tributorie, to the Princes of *Persia*, and to the *Sarrazins*, did theim to be free, from all seruice, and exactions, lottyng to theim for Prince him selfe, and none other. After this considerynge with him selfe, that he presentlie hadde gathered a houge and greate armie, moued priuie mutenies and rebellions in other countries, by meanes wherof, in prosis of tyme he conquired *Syria*, *Armenia*,

3. Compare *Tamburlaine*, Part I, Act I. Sc. ii.

9. *seq.* The following episode, to l. 21, appears in Fregoso, Mexia, Perondinus and Primaudaye only, and is followed closely by Marlowe.

31. Marlowe omits this episode and altogether reduces Tamburlaine's affection for his own country, which would not harmonize with his character as the eternal conqueror Perondinus and Cambinus (= Shute) both mention Tamburlaine's freeing of his own country specifically.

Babylon, Mesopotamia, Scythia Asiatica, Albania and *Media*, with others, manie territories, riche also and famous cities. And although we finde written nothing, of any his warres whatsoeuer, yet is it to be presumed that he fought many a bataile in open filde with the ennimie, before he had subdued so many, kingdomes and territories: for as muche as all those that remember of hym anie thyng, commende to vs the haute exploytes, of this moste valiaunte personage, and farther that hee so circumspectly ordered his companie, that in his Campe was neuer knowen, any brawle, or mutenie. He was verie courteous, liberall, doyng honour to all menne, accordynge to their demerites that woulde accompanie, or follow him, feared therefore equally, and loued of the people. He so painfullie, and with suche care instructed his Souldiars, that in an instante alwaies, if it were behouefull, either by sounde of Trompette, or any other, one, onely signe geuen, euerie man was founde in his charge, or quarter, yea though his armie were sutche, so greate, and so numerous, as neuer besides him selfe, conducted anie other. In fewe his Campe resembled one of the best, and richest Cities in the worlde, for all kinde of offices were there founde in order, as also greate heapes of marchauntes to furnishe it with all necessaries. He in no case permitted any robberies, priuie figgyng, force, or violence, but with seueritie and rigour punished, whom soeuer he founde thereof, giltie, or culpable, by meanes where of his Campe, was no worse of all prouisions furnished, then the best Citie in the worlde, in time of most safe, and assured securitie. His desire was, that his Soldiars shoulde euermore glory, in their martiall prowes, their vertue, and wisedome onely. He paide them

5. *seq.* These battles are in fact chronicled at considerable length by his oriental biographers, who were not available to Mexia.

10. The orderliness of his camp and the excellence of his discipline are facts noted almost universally by his biographers eastern and western. Without their superlative military organization, the conquests of the great Tartar Khans could not have been achieved.

11. Here, again, all but a few of his most bitter enemies agree in attributing liberality and generosity to Tamburlaine.

20–3. This passage may be compared with Clavijo's description of the permanent camp outside Samarqand. There is no reason why Mexia, the Sevillian historian and cosmographer, should not have read one of the many MS. copies of the account of Timūr's capital written by Henry III's ambassador, but it is a little puzzling to find him make no use of it (except perhaps in this passage) and give no reference to it in his list of authorities.

their salerie, and wage, without fraude, he honoured, he praised, he imbrast, and kiste theim, kepyng theim notwithstandyng in awe and subiection. This beyng king nowe and Emperour, of sundrie Realmes, and Countries in *Asia*, greate troupes came to him still, out of euery quarter, besides these that were in anie respect his subiectes, for the onely fame, of his honour, and vertue. So that his Campe grewe in short time to be greater, then euer was that of *Darius* or *Xerxes*, for soche as write of hym, reporte that he had fower hundred thousand horsemen, but of foote men a greater number, by two hundred thousande more, whiche all he ladde with him, at the conqueste of *Asia* the lesse: where of the greate *Turke* advertised, who then hight *Baiaceth*, Lorde and Prince of that countrie, but present then in person, at the siege of Constantinople, hauyng a little before subdued sundrie prouinces, and partes of *Grece*, with other territories adiacent, and Tounes there aboute, thence growen to more wealth, and more feared, then any Prince in the world, was neuer the lesse constrained to raise his siege incontinentlie, passyng thence into *Asia* with all his armie, taking vppe still by the way, as many as was possible, so that as some affirme, he had as many horsemen as had the greate *Tamburlaine*, with a merueilous number of other Souldiars, bothe olde, and of much experience, especially by meanes of the continuall warres, which he had still with the christians. This *Baiaceth* now like a good, and like an expert Capitaine, seing that he no waie els might resiste, this puissante Emperour, determined to meete him, and to geue hym present battaile, hauyng merueilous affiance in the approued manhoode, and vertue of his Souldiars. Wherefore marchyng on within fewe daies, they mette eache with other vppon the confines of *Armenia*, where both of theim, orderyng as

9. *seq.* The historians almost universally emphasize the magnitude of both armies, the balance of the conflict, the courage of the Turks and the heroism of Bajazet. Marlowe naturally reduces the size of Tamburlaine's army and, less happily, the valour and nobility of Bajazet.

32. The position of the battle is variously named, but by far the larger number of historians place it at or near Ancora. Thus, 'Ancyre' (Chalcondylas, Ducas, Schiltberger), 'Engurim' (Leunclavius), 'Phrygia' (Phrantzes), 'Mount Stella' in 'Bithynia' (Cuspinian, Giovio (= Ashton); Perondinus; Curio (= Newton); Granucci). 'On the confines of Armenia' (Cuspinian, an alternative; Cambinus; Perondinus; Whetstone). Arabshah and Kwand Amir also refer to 'Ancre' and 'Angurieh'.

became good Capitaines their people, beganne in the breake of day, the most cruell, and most terrible battaile that earst was euer harde of, considerynge the nomber on both partes, their experience, and pollicie, with the valiant currage, and prowes of their capitaines. This continued they in fighte euen almoste vntill night, with merueilous sloughter on bothe sides, the victorie yet doubtfull, til, in the ende the Turkes beganne to fainte and to flee, more indeede opprest with the multitude, then that thei feared or other wise, the moste parte of theim with honour diyng manfully in the filde : and as one reporteth two hundred thousand were taken prisoners, after the battaile was ended, the residue [resude] slaine, and fledde for their better safetie. Whiche *Baiaceth*, of parte perceiuyng before the ende, how it woulde waie, to courage his people, and to withdrawe theim from flight, resisted in person valiantly the furious rage of the enimie. How be it, he therby gained such, and so many knokes, that as he was in the ende, in deede vnhorste, so was he for lake of reskewe presented to the greate *Tamburlaine*, who incontinently closed hym vppe, in a Kaege of yron,

20. *seq.* In many of the Oriental accounts Tamburlaine received Bajazet courteously and even allowed him a certain amount of liberty. According to the late and mainly Turkish accounts of Leunclavius and Podesta, he subtly induced the fiery Turk to condemn himself by asking what Bajazet would have done to him (Tamburlaine) if the positions had been reversed. Bajazet answered angrily that he would have shut him up in an iron cage ; an iron cage was, not unnaturally, provided immediately. Phrantzes is apparently responsible for the earliest mention of the iron cage (probably, as Hammer-Purgstall points out, through a misinterpretation of the Turkish 'kafes', 'litter'), and he is followed literally by Pius II, Giovio, Perondinus, Granucci, Mambrino, Gruget, Fortescue, Whetstone, though Mexia distinctly mentions a wooden cage ('jaula de madera') in his first account and leaves the material unspecified (as do Cuspinian and Curio) in his second. It is at this point in the story that Mambrino's abridgement and Fortescue's omission in conjunction become of some interest Mexia's version of this passage runs : 'Y assi llevado en presencia del Tamorlan el qual gozando todo lo possible de la victoria, le hizo hazer muy fuertes cadenas, y una jaula donde dormia de noche, y assi aprisionado cada vez que comia, le hazia poner debaxo de la mesa como a lebrel, y de lo que el echava de la mesa le hazia comer : y que de solo aquello se mantuviesse. Y quando cavalgava, lo hazia traer, que se abaxasse y pusiesse de manera, que poniendole el pie encima, subiesse el en su cavallo.' This Mambrino abridges thus : 'Et condotto al conspetto del Tamorlano lo fece mettere in una fortissima gabbia di ferro, con esso lui conducendoselo, et pascendolo delle miche che della mensa gli cadeva, et dei pezzi di pane che à guisa di cane (come habbiamo nella vita di Baiazetho) gli porgeva . . .' which, with two slight altera-

carriynge hym still with hym, whither soeuer he after wente, pasturyng hym with the croomes, that fell from hys table, and with other badde morselles, as he had beeu a dogge: whence assuredly we may learne not so much to affie in riches, or in the pompe of this world: for as muche as he that yesterdaie was Prince and Lorde, of all the worlde almost, is this daie fallen into suche extreame miserie, that he liueth worse then a dogge, fellowe to theim in companie, and that by the meanes of him that was some tymes a poore Sheaperde or if you rather will, as some reporte, a meane souldiour, who after as we see aspired to suche honour, that in hys time none was founde that durst, or coulde abide hym: the other that descended of noble race or linage, constrained, to liue an abiecte, in most lothsum, and vile seruitude. This tragidie might suffice, to withdrawe men, from this transitorie pompe, and honour, acquaintyng theimselues with Heauen and with heauenly thinges onely. Now this greate *Tamburlaine*, this mightie Prince, and Emperour, ouer ranne all *Asia* the lesse, to the Turke before subiect, thence turning towards *Egypte*, conquired also *Syria*, *Phenicia*, and *Palestina*, with all other Cities on their borders, of what side so euer, and besides these *Smirna*, *Antioch*, *Tripolis*, *Sebasta*, and *Damascus*. After warde beeing come, with al his armie into *Egypte*, the *Soudan*, and the kyng of *Arabia*, with sundrie other Princes, assembled altogether, and presented hym battaile, but in the ende to their inspecable detrement discomfited, were slaine, and spoiled at the pleasure of the ennimie: by meane where of the Soudan saued hymself by flight. How be it, *Tamburlaine* had easely taken from hym all *Egypte*, hadde it not been, for the greate, and inaccessible, desertes in that country, through whiche to passe with so puisante an armie, was either impossible, or at the leaste

tions, is what appears in Fortescue's translation The omission of the 'footstool' here is exceptional (but has been explained above); it is faithfully reproduced by Cambinus (and Shute), Cuspinian, Perondinus, Sagundinus, Curio (and Newton), Granucci, Ashton and Primaudaye, besides Mexia; and also in George Whetstone's version of Gruget's account (*The English Myrror*, 1586).

17? Marlowe's use of this and similar passages is not, of course, the same as Mexia's, the ideas, however, recur in Zenocrate's speech Part I. v ii l. 285 *seq*

18 *seq* Marlowe condenses the action here and passes on at once to the siege of Damascus The European historians invariably put this siege after the defeat of Bajazet, whereas the Orientals generally assign it to the campaign immediately preceding.

verie difficill, not withstandyng he subdued all suche partes of the Countrie as were next hym. Some report of hym, that he then hym helde best contented, when he founde his ennimy moste strong, and best able to resist hym, to thende he might be occasioned, to make proofe of hymself, what he was able to doe, and how muche in his necessitie: that whiche well chaunced hym at the citie of *Damascus*. For after he had taken the most honourable, and most valiante personages of the citie, the others retired into a certaine Castell or Holde, suche, and so stronge, that all menne accompted it impregnable, where, neuer the lesse, desirous to growe, to some composition with hym, were vtterly refused, no intreatie preuailyng, so that in fine, they muste needes fight it out, or yelde theim to his mercie. And findyng no place, where he by any meanes might assaulte it, builte faste by it an other more high and stronge then that, where he so painfully, and in suche sorte dispatchte it, that the ennimie by no meanes colde or lette or annoie hym, so that his Forte in the ende or equall, or rather higher then the other, beganne his batterie, suche, and so cruell, that it neuer ceaste daie nor night, vntill at last he had taken it. It is writen of him, that in all his assaultes, of any castell or citie, he vsually would hang out to be seen of the enimie, an Enseigne white, for the space of one full daie, whiche

8. The siege of Damascus, one of Tīmūr's most notorious feats, seems to have been known to all his historians. The Europeans, however, have a pallid version of the story compared with the Orientals Only Schiltberger and Podesta describe the slaughtering of the priests in the burning temple and the tower of heads built for a warning for posterity, commonplaces of the Oriental accounts of this and other sieges

10. *seq* The outlines of the following episodes are, of course, matter of common historical knowledge

24. *seq* This myth of the tents is hard to trace in any Oriental source, but persistent in the western ones With slight variations of phrase, Crinitus, Pius, Cambinus, Cuspinian, Mexia, Perondinus, Lonicerus, Shute, Curio, Granucci, Thevet and Whetstone all give substantially the same story. I have not been able to trace it further back, but presumably the germ of the tradition was an imperfectly understood description (such as Clavijo's) of the gorgeous Tartar tents, spread over the plain of Samarqand, half camp, half city. It is noticeable that some authors use the same word for 'tent' throughout, and that some vary it Marlowe and Mexia both change from 'tent' in the first two cases to 'pavilion' in the third. I cannot think that much can be built on this, especially as Newton and Shute both use the phrase 'pavilions or tents'. Perondinus, it may be remarked, has three different words. Fortescue has the unique version 'ensigns', dictated probably by misdirected common-sense in conjunction with complete ignorance of Tartar customs.

signified, (as was then to all men well knowen) that if those within, woulde in that daye yelde theim, he then woulde take theim to mercie, without any their losse of life or goods. The seconde daie hee did to bee hanged out an other all redde, lettyng theym thereby againe to vnderstande, that if they then woulde yelde, he onelie then woulde execute Th'officers, Magistrates, maisters of housholdes and gouernours, pardonyng, and forgeuyng all others whatsoeuer. The thirde daie he euer displaied, the thirde all blacke, signifiynge therby, that he then hadde shutte vp his gates from all compassion and clemencie, in such sorte, that, whosoeuer were in that daie taken, or in anie other then folowyng, shoulde assuredly die for it, without any respecte, either of man, or woman, little or greate, the Citie to be sackt, and burnt withall to ashes: whence assuredly it can not be saide, but that he was verie cruell, though otherwise adorned, with many rare vertues. But it is to be supposed, that god stirred hym vppe an instrument, to chastice these princes, these proude, and wicked nations. For better proofe whereof Pope *Pius*, whiche liued in his tyme, or at leaste, eight or tenne yeres after hym, reporteth of hym saiyng, that on a tyme beseigyng, a strong and riche citie, which neither on the first, or second would yelde to him which only daies, were daies of mercie, as is aboue saide, on the third day neuerthelesse affiyng on hope vncertaine, to obtaine at his handes some mercie, and pardon, opened their gates, sendyng forth in order towardes hym, all their wemen, and children in white appareled, bearing eche in their handes a branche of Oliue, criyng with haute voice, humbly requestynge, and demaundyng pardon, in maner so pitifull, and lamentable to beholde, that besides him none other was but woulde haue accepted their solemne submission. This *Tamburlaine*, not withstandyng that beheld theim a farre of, in this order issuyng, so farre then exiled from all kinde of pitie, that he commaunded forthwith, a certaine troope of horsemen to ouer runne, to murther, and kill theym, not leauyng one a liue,

20 *seq.* The *Asia* of Pius was first published at Venice in 1477 This story runs through the usual group of European historians and, unlike some of the favourite episodes of the saga, has an Oriental counterpart in the slaughter of the children of Ispahan described convincingly by Arabshah and confirmed by Schiltberger It would be interesting to know whether or not it passed from Asia to Europe through Chalcondylas's description of the murder of the children of Sebastia or Siwas

of what condition soeuer, and after sackyng the Citie, rased it, euen vnto the verie foundations. A certaine Marchaunte of *Genua* was then in his campe, who had often recourse to him, who also vsed hym in causes familiarly, and who for that this facte seemed verie bloodie, and barbarous, hardned hymselfe to demaunde hym the cause why he vsed theim so cruelly, considering thei yelded themselues, crauing grace, and pardon: to whom he aunswered in most furious wrath, and yre, his face redde and firie, his eyes all flamynge, with burnyng spearckles, as it were blasing out, on euerie side. Thou supposest me to be a man, but thou to muche abbusest me, for none other am I, but the wrathe, and vengeaunce of God, and ruine of the worlde: wherefore aduise thee well, that thou neuer againe presume, to bee founde in any place in my sight, or presence, if thou wilt that I chastice thee not, accordyng to thy desert, and they proude presumption. This Marchaunte without more then sodenly retired, neither after that, was at any time seen in the campe of *Tamburlaine*. Those thinges this accomplished, this greate and mightie Personage hauyng conquired many countries, subdued and done to deathe sundrie Kinges and Princes, no where findyng any resistaunce in any parte of all *Asia*, retourned home againe into his countrie, charged with infinite heapes of Gold, and treasure, accompanied also with the most honourable estates, of al the cuntries subdued by him, which brought with theim, in like maner, the greatest parte also of their wealth and substaunce, where he did to be builte a moste famous, and goodlie citie, and to be inhabited of those (as we fore saied) that he brought with hym, whiche altogether no lesse honourable then riche, in verie shorte tyme with the healpe of *Tamburlaine*, framed the most beautifull and moste sumptuous Citie in the worlde, whiche by the multitude of the people, was also merueilously inlarged, abundaunt, and full of al kinde of riches. But in the ende

2 This episode, omitted by Marlowe except for the substance of Tamburlaine's reply, appears also in the sixteenth-century European chronicles, but not in the Byzantines It scarcely harmonizes with the more favourable Oriental accounts of Tīmūr's relations with his friends and counsellors.

28. The historians, who generally name Samarqand (except Chalcondylas, who says that Cheria was Tamburlaine's capital), are divided as to whether he built it or merely extended it. Perondinus, in an authoritative note, corrects the error (see Appendix D).

this *Tamburlaine*, though he maintained his estate, in suche aucthoritie and honour, yet as a man in the ende, he paieth, the debte due vnto nature, leauyng behinde hym twoo soonnes, not such as was the father, as afterwarde appeared by many plaine, and euident signes: for as well by their mutuall discorde, eache malicing the other, as also by their insufficiencie, with the lacke of age and experience, they were not able to keepe, and maintaine the Empire conquired by their father. For the children of *Baiaceth*, whom they yet helde as prisoner, aduertised of this their discorde, and dissention, came into *Asia* with valiaunt courage, and diligencie, by the aide of suche people as they founde willing to assiste theim, recoueryng their possessions, and territories fore loste, whiche, in maner semblable did they other Princes, whiche *Tamburlaine* before had also subdued. So that this Empire in prosis of tyme so declined, that in our age there remaineth nowe no remembraunce at all of hym, ne of his posteritie or linage, in what respecte soeuer. How be it, true it is, that *Baptista Ignatius*, a diligent searcher of auncient antiquities, reporteth that he leafte twoo soonnes, Princes and Protectours of all the countries, subdued by hym, reachyng, and extendynge euen vnto the Riuer of *Euphrates*, as al so their successors after theim, euen vntill the tyme of Kinge *Vsancasan* againste whom the Turke *Mahomet*, waiged some tymes bataile. And the Heires of this *Vsancasam*, as most men surmise, aduaunced theimselues, to the honour, and name of the first *Sophi*, whence now is deriued the emprie of *Sophi*, whiche liueth this daie, as sworne ennimie to the Turke. Whiche how soeuer it be, it is to be supposed, that this historie of *Tamburlaine*, had it of anie been written, woulde haue been a matter of worthie both of penne and paper: for that greate exploytes, no doubte were happily atchiued of hym: but as for me I neuer founde more, then I here presently haue writen, neither suppose I that any other thinge, is of anye other man writen, this onely excepted, where on all men accorde, that he neuer sawe the backe, or frounyng face of fortune, that he neuer was vanquished, or put to flighte by any, that he neuer tooke matter in hande, that

4–5. Again there is general agreement about the failure of Tamburlaine's sons to maintain his empire after his death, a version naturally omitted by Marlowe, but skilfully indicated in the last scene.

he brought not to the wished effect, and that his corage, and industrie neuer failed hym to bryng it to good ende. By meanes whereof we maie, for iuste cause compare hym with any other whatsoeuer, though renoumed in tymes past. This then that I here geue you, that al haue I borrowed of *Baptista Fulgotius*, Pope *Pius*, *Platina* vppon the life of *Boniface* the ninth, of *Mathew Palmier*, and of *Cambinus* a Florentine, writyng the historie, and exploytes of the Turkes.

WHETSTONE'S *ENGLISH MYRROR*. (Chap 12.)

The wonderfull conquest of Tamberlaine, reconquered and his large kingdom ouerthrowne by the enuy and discord of his two sonnes.

Amonge the illustrous Captaines Romaines, and *Grecians*, none of all their martiall acts, deserue to be proclaimed with more renown, then the conquest and millitarie disciplines of *Tamberlaine*: but such was the iniury of his fortune as no worthye writers undertooke his historye at large: although *Baptista Fulgosius* in his collection *Campinus florintin*, in his history of the *Turkes*: make some mention thereof: about the yeere of the Lorde 1390. *Tamburlaine* being a poore labourer, or in the best degree a meane souldiour, descended from the *Partians*: notwithstanding the pouertye of his parents: euen from his infancy he had a reaching & an imaginative minde, the strength and comelinesse of his body, aunswered the hautines of his hart. This *Tamberlaine* as *Fulgosius* reporteth, keeping beasts among other youthes of his condition his companions in a meriment chose him for their king: whereupon *Tamberlaine*, (hauing a ruling desire) after an othe of obedience, commanded euery man to sell his cattaile: and to contemn their meane estate, & to follow him as their captaine: & in smal time, he assembled 500. heardmen, and laborers, whose

7–8. This is the European version. The Oriental (in the Mulfuzat and in Sheref-ed-Din's account) is more convincing; Tamburlaine's fortunes sank, like Alfred's, to a point of desperation from which he heroically retrieved them. The European accounts dwell mainly upon the end and successful part of his life.

8. For Mexia's authorities, see Appendix E

9. *The English Myrror*. By George Whetstones [*sic*] Gent. (1586.) Pp. 79–82.

16. Cf. *The English Myrror*, p. 15, '*Tamberlayne* ye Great, surnamed *flagellum dei*, who worthy the name of vengeaunce . . .'

first act was to rob the marchants that passed that way: he parted the spoyle continually among his companions, & intertayned them with such faithfulness & loue, as the rumour thereof dayly increased his strength: the king of *Partia* understanding these matters, sent one of his captaines with a thousand horse to take him: but *Tamberlaine* so behaued himselfe, as he won this captaine to be his cõpanion & assistant with al his strength who thus ioined, did things of greater importance then before: these matters in question, enuy had sowen discord between the king of *Persia* & his brother. *Tamberlaine* ioyned with y^e^ kings brother: and so valiantly behaued himself, y^t^ he ouerthrew the king & seated his brother in the kingdom: the new king created *Tamberlaine*, chiefe captaine of his army: who under colour to inlarge his kingdom, raised many people, & found the means to make them reuolt from their obedience, & so deposed y^e^ new king, whom he lately ayded to the kingdom: & then made himselfe king of *Persia*: redeeming (by this industry and dexterity in armes) his countrey from the seruitude of the *Sarizens* and kinges of *Persia*. *Tamberlayne* hauing a puissaunt armye: in processe of time, conquered *Siria*, *Armenia*, *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, *Scitia*, *Asia*, *Albania*, and other prouinces, with many goodly and inuincible Cities: it is pittie his pollicies and battayles be not largely written, which in these conquestes could not but be famous: but of his militarie discipline thus much wryters commend, in his armye was neuer found mutine: he was wise, liberall, and rewarded euery souldiour with his desert: there is no remembrance of a greater army then his: his gouernment and order was such, that his campe seemed a goodly City, wherein euery necessary office was found, marchants without feare of robbing, or spoyling repayred thither, with all maner of necessary prouision for his army: the reason was he suffered no theft unpunished, and as louingly honored, praised, and payed the vertuous and valiaunt souldiour, which favour ioyned with iustice, made him both feared and loued: he ledde a greater army then King *Darius*, or *Xerxes*: for writers affirme, that he had foure hundred thousand horsemen, and 6. hundred thousand footmen, the which he ledde to conquer the lesse *Asia*. *Baiazet* the great *Turke* (of whose worthinesse, and wonderfull prowes is sufficiently spoken in the former chapter) aduertised of *Tamberlaynes* proceedinges: was driuen to leaue his siege to *Constantinople*: and with all expedition,

to inlarge his power to the uttermost: to incounter with *Tamberlayne*, by estimation he had as manye horsemen as *Tamberlayne*, and a great number of footmen: these two puissant captaines in whom wanted neither vallour, pollicye, nor anye aduauntage of war, with equall courages, mutuallye consented to abide the fortune of the battaile: and so incountring on the confines of *Armenia*: at the dawning of the daye with all their power they beganne the fiercest battaile that in any age was foughten, which by the huge number of people, and the experience of their captains may be lawfully supposed: the slaughter continued of both parties, and the victorye doubtfull all the whole dayes. In fine the *Turkes* of whome two hundred thousand were slaine: vanquished by the multitude of their enemies tourned their backes: which *Baiazet* perceiuing: to incourage his army, with an unappauled spirite resisted the furye of his enemies. But such was Gods will, for lacke of rescue, by the ouercharge of foes, he was taken prisoner, and presented to *Tamberlaine*, who closed this great Emperour in an Iron cage, and as a dog fed him onely with the fragments that fell from his table (as in the former chapter is showne) a notable example of the incertaintye of worldly fortunes: *Baiazet*, that in the morning was the mightiest Emperor on the earth, at night, and the residue of his life, was driuen to feede among the dogs, and which might most grieuve him, he was thus abased, by one that in the beginning was but a poore sheepheard. *Tamberlaine* thus possessed of *Asia minor*, which was before in the possession of the *Turke*, he speeded into *Ægypt*, and by the way raised all *Siria*, *Phenice*, and the *Palestine*, he took manye famous Cities, and among others *Smirna*, *Antioch*, *Tripoli*, *Sebastian* and *Damas*. In *Ægypt* he encountred with the *Soudan*, and the king of *Arabia*, and ouerthrew them: he was euer best at ease when he found a stout resistance in his enemy: that his pollicie and prowesse might be the better knowne: as appeared at the city of *Damas*, which after he had taken, the principle and most valiaunt men retyred unto a tower, which was thought impregnable, afterwards they offered him composition, but he refused, unlesse they would fight, or yeelde unto his mercy: and with diligence beyond expectation, he raysed a tower level with

19. Cf. *The English Myrror*, p. 72, 'and alwayes when he moũted upon his horse, he set his foot upon his shoulders: moreover, at meales he tyed him under his boorde, and like a dog fedde him with fragments'.

theirs : from whence he battred them in such sort as they were unable to resist : it is sayde, that in his batteries and assaultes, he used the firste daye to raise a white tent, which gaue knowledge that if that daye the Citizens yeelded : they should haue both their goods, liues, and liberty : the seconde daye he raysed a red tent, which signified, that if they did that day yeeld, he would save all, but the maisters and chiefe of euery house : the third day he raised a blacke tent, which signified that the gates of compassion were closed, and all that were that day, and afterwardes subiected, were slaine without respect of man woman or childe : it is written that *Tamberlaine* besieged a strong city, which withstood the 1. & 2. daies assault, the 3. day the people fed with a vaine hope of mercy, set open the gates, and with their wiues and children cloathed all in white, hauing Oliue branches in their handes, they humbly beseeched grace, but *Tamberlaine* in place of compassion caused his squadrons of horsemen to tread them under their feete, and not to leaue a mothers child aliue, and afterwardes he leuiled the city with the ground. At that time there was a marchaunt of *Genowa*, somewhat favored of *Tamberlaine* : pittying the cruelty, boldly demanded why he shewed such cruelty to those, that yeelded and beseeched pardon, whō *Tamberlaine* (with a countenance fiered with fury) answered : thou supposest that I am a mā, but thou art decived, for I am no other than the ire of God, and the destruction of the world : and therefore see thou come no more in my sight, least I chastē thy ouer proud boldnes. The marchant made speed away, & was neuer afterwards seene in the campe. And in truth *Tamberlain* although he was endued with many excellencies & vertues : yet it seemed by his cruelty, y^{t} God raysed him to chasten the kings and proud people of the earth. In the ende this great personage, without disgrace of fortune, after sūdry great victories, by the course of nature died, & left behind him two sons, euery way far unlike their father : between whō enuy sowed such dissention, that through their incapacities to govern the conquests of their Father, the children of *Baiazet*, whom they kept prisoners, stole into *Asia*, & so won the people to disobedience, as they recouered the goods & possessions that their father lost. . . .

APPENDIX D

EXTRACTS FROM OTHER ACCOUNTS OF TAMBURLAINE

1. Baptistae Fulgosi. Liber Tertius. *De iis qui humili fortuna orti clarum sibi nomen vendicarunt.* [Fo. xc_v.] 1518.

Tamburlanus quem avorum nostrorum ætas armis justiciaque priscis in principibus equalem, regni autem atque exercitus magnitudine Xerse maiorem nedum paremvidit, quantum percipi potuit a Scithis ortus est, non regia stirpe aut insigni aliquo stemmate sed patrem extrema inopia pastorem habuit: inter pastores ipse nutritus et puerilibus ludis a pastoribus rex creatus, astu novaque industria eos ut jurejurando imperata se facturos pollicerentur impulit. Pecora igitur venundare eos atque ut a tam inopi vita se vindicarent arma equosque comparare jussit. Hoc numero (ad quingentos enim pervenerant), quasdam mercatorum societates quae per eas regiones magno numero praesidii gratia commeare solent et vulgo caravane dicuntur, armis devicit: atque in partienda preda adeo se inter comites justum liberalemque praestitit, ut mutatae conditionis pastores non modo non peniteret sed fide amoreque enixius ei devincirentur. Ad compescendam praedonum audaciam cum mille equitibus dux in eius regionis fines ubi haec adversus mercatores gesta erant, a persarum rege missus, cum a latronum duce in colloquium vocatus esset latronis arte verbisque delinitus ex hoste comes ei factus est. Interim inter persarum regem fratremque eius orta controversia, fratris causam latronum duces susceperunt: cui postquam regnum asseruere maiori exercitus parte ab eo impetrata dum cum eo fingunt in exteris gentibus imperium parare velle, compulsis ad rebellandum populis brevi se qui ante latronum princeps erat persarum regem fecit. Quod autem Ischia debilitatus erat, eius nomini temir (quod scitharum lingua femūr significat), lang persae addiderunt: quod verbum prisca lingua Ischia debilitatum ostendit conjunctisque ambobus verbis temirlang nuncupatus fuit, a nobis autem verbo ob linguarum dissimilitudinem viciato pro temirlang Tamburlanus est dictus. Hic persico regno Armeniam Syriam babylonemque atque ingentes alias gentes addidit: urbemque mercantam ambitu maximo condidit: sibi ingenti parta fama omnibusque quamvis parvo in-

fœlicique ortis locospe facta ut corporis animique virtute atque industria ad quaevis ingentia regna imperiaque evadere possint.

[Here may be seen in outline the account of the intrigues by which Tamburlaine gained the Persian crown, a group of episodes unknown to the Oriental and earlier historians of Tīmūr and apparently available to Marlowe in only five sources, Fulgoso (Fregoso), Mexia, Perondinus, Whetstone and Primaudaye.]

2. *The Embassy of Clavijo.* Chap. XII. [From the translation by G. le Strange in the series *Broadway Travellers.* Routledge. 1928.]

Then coming to the presence beyond, we found Tīmūr and he was seated under what might be called a portal, which same was before the entrance of a most beautiful palace that appeared in the background. He was sitting on the ground, but upon a raised dais before which there was a fountain that threw up a column of water into the air backwards, and in the basin of the fountain there were floating red apples. His Highness had taken his place on what appeared to be small mattresses stuffed thick and covered with embroidered silk cloth, and he was leaning on his elbow against some round cushions that were heaped up behind him. He was dressed in a cloak of plain silk without any embroidery, and he wore on his head a tall white hat on the crown of which was displayed a balas ruby, the same being further ornamented with pearls and precious stones. As soon as we came in sight of his Highness we made him our reverence, bowing and putting the right knee to the ground and crossing our arms over the breast. Then we advanced a step and again bowed, and a third time we did the same, but this occasion kneeling on the ground and remaining in that posture. . . .

His Highness however commanded us to arise and stand close up to him that he might the better see us, for his sight was no longer good, indeed, he so infirm and old that his eyelids were falling over his eyes and he could barely raise them to see. We remarked that his Highness never gave us his hand to kiss, for that is not their custom, no one with them should kiss the hand of any great lord which to do would here be deemed unseemly. Tīmūr now inquired of us for the health of the King our Master saying: 'How is it with my son your King? How goes it with him? Is his health good?' We suitably answered and then proceeded to set out the message of our embassy at length, his Highness listening carefully to all that we had to say.

When we had finished Tīmūr turned and proceeded to converse with certain of the great lords who were seated on the ground at his feet. . . . Turning to them therefore Tīmūr said: 'See now these Ambassadors whom my son the King of Spain has sent to me. He indeed is the greatest of all the kings of the Franks who reign in that farther quarter of the earth where his people are a great and famous nation. I will send a message of good will to my son this King of Spain. . . .'

[This is the only extant account of Tīmūr by an educated European who had met and conversed with him. Even in this short extract, the character revealed more nearly resembles that of the Oriental biographies than of any western writings except Schiltberger's report. The passage may be contrasted with the accompanying sixteenth-century European accounts upon which Marlowe drew.]

3. Petrus Perondinus: *Magni Tamerlanis vita.* Cap. ix (bis) *De dedecore ac vilissimo supplicii genere quibus Baiazithem affecit, et de ejusdem morte*

Nondum victoris Tamerlanis dirus exaturatus satiatusque animus videbatur cæde cladeque Turcarum copiis miserabili modo illatis, nisi reliquum suæ feritatis in Baiazithem quoque omnium miserrimum effudisset, quippe eo procumbente non sine ludibrio eius tergo pedem imponens solitus erat equum conscendere; prandenti vero et commessanti, quo magis ridiculo foret, et despicatui, micas et frustilla sub mensa tripodi alligatus canis in modum comedere cogebatur. Reliquum vero temporis ferrea in cauea bestiarum more conclusus degebat ad admirandum humanarum rerum spectaculum, exemplumque fortunæ nusquam fidæ miser-

11 *seq.* Marlowe, characteristically, omits this detail, which Perondinus seems to have evolved from Chalcondylas's account, read in the light of the records of Tiberius. All that Chalcondylas says is that Tamburlaine '*ἐπιστῆσαί οἱ ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, οἰνοχοῆσαί οἱ*,' which is approximately Marlowe's view. Perondinus is followed verbally by Lonicerus, Bizarus and Primaudaye. Finally, an interesting comment from Podesta disposes of the myth 'Trovandosi una volta in conversatione con esso e con sua moglie, volle ch'essa presentasse a suo Marito una tazza, vedendo Baiazete sua moglie in conversatione, s'adirò, e cominciò à dire contra Timur Chano diverse villanie. . . . Egli è altrimente il costume delli Tartari Cziganatani, che la moglie porga al marito la tazza, onde non era maraviglia, se Timur Chano havendo fatto venire in conversatione la moglie di Baiazete, volle, che ad esso porgesse una tazza.' (*Ann. Ott.*, pp. 55/6.) The episode is perhaps worth noting as it is characteristic of the treatment of the records of Tīmūr in the hands of Europeans utterly ignorant of Tartar customs.

andum, quin vel uxor eius, quam vna cum ipso captiuam traxerat crepidulis tantum calciata, sagoque perbreuissimo induta militari, denudatis obscenis dedecorose ante Baiazithis oculos Scytharum proceribus vna discumbentibus pocula ministrare cogebatur, imitatus in hoc Tartarus Tamerlanes Tiberium Romanorum Imperatorem, nudis non nisi puellis ministrantibus coenantem, quod indignissime ferens Baiazithes, ira percitus, moeroreque confectus tanta oneratus ignominia, mortem sibimet dire imprecabatur: qui nulla via voti compos quum euasisset animum inexorabili obstinatione despondens vita excessit, capite numerosis ictibus ferreis caucæ clatris perfracto illisoque cerebro, suo ad id misero funestoque fato compulsus, quod iam Regem summum Asiæ turpiter cohercendum, regnoque auito et patrio spoliandum opilioni quondam præbuerit, atque tanta res suas calamitate insigniuerit, alter vero ex adverso ab illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina fortuna, ad tam summum Ethnearchiæ fastigium euectus fuerit, vt bellum ingens ac tetrum regi antea inuicto, et præpotenti multisque victoriis et opibus clarissimo inferre potuerit, mira foelicitate conficere, eundemque et uxorem sordidatos tandem in vincula abripere, ac ingenti cum præda gloriabundus in terram patriam reuerti.

Perondinus Cap. XXI

De statura Tamerlanis et moribus eius

Statura fuit procera et eminenti, barbatus, latus ab humeris et pectore, cæterisque membris æqualis et congruens integra valetudine, excepto altero pede, quo non perinde valebat, vt inde claudicare ac deformiter incedere prospiceretur, oris truculenti atque obductæ suæ frontis oculi introrsus recedentes præferocis animi sui sæuitiem spirantes intuentibus terrorem et formidinem incutiebant, valida erat vsque adeo neruorum compage, vt validissimum quemque e Scythis in palestra prosterneret, ac Parthici ingentis arcus chordam lacertosis brachiis vltra aurem facile posset extendere, æneumque mortarium excussi iaculi spiculo transfodere. Fuit igitur Tamerlanes corpore et moribus Cartaginiensi Hannibali simillimus, quantum scripta veterum edocent, ostenduntque numismata ingenio callido, atroci, perfido, nihilque pensa habente, vsu postulante truci, in reprimendis hominum latrociniis

castigandaque militum licentia sæuiore, vt metu poenæ oculos nedum manus ab auro gazaque omni diripienda cohibere didicissent, uti ipse sibi solus fortasse omnia vindicasset, cunctaque pro arbitrio diripuisset, in cæteris vero plerumque conniuebat, at quod mirum videri possit quærebat atrox bellorum exantlator indefesse tamquam eximium virtutis opus, quibus cum bellum gereret, aut quos semper turbulentissimis bellorum procellis agitaret, vel qui [*sic.* Qy.: quis?] incorrupta libertate fruentibus sæue iugum imponeret

Cap. XVII. *De tentoriis, quibus in oppugnandis urbibus utebantur.*

In obsidendis vel oppugnandis urbibus memoriae mandatum est hoc modo sibi aditum ad illas comparasse, quippe primo die, quo in conspectum urbium se dabat, mensori sibi candidum tentorium in castris figi pronunciabat, ut certo scirent se statim dedentes, ac portas aperientes veniae atque salutis locum esse inventuros, ac impunitatem consecuturos, secundo vero die coccineum ingressus praetorium significari volebat cum caeteris pactus incolumitatem patres familias tantum cunctationis pœnas cruore datum ire, tertio porro die omnium cunctabundae urbi funestissimo atri coloris tabernaculo erecto, omni prorsus exutum misericordia Tamerlanem denunciabatur ad unum omnibus inhumaniter gladio confectis urbem solo aequatum ire.

4. Newton: *The Notable History of the Saracens.* P. 129.

1397. *Tamburlane*, Kyng of *Scythia*, a man of obscure byrthe and Pedagrew, grew to such power, that he maynteined in his Court daily attending on him, a thousand and CC, Horsemen. This Prince invadyng the Turkes dominions in *Asia* with an innumerable multitude of armed Souldiours, in the confynes of *Gallitia* and *Bithynia*, neere to Mount *Stella*, gave to the Turke a sore battaile, in the which, he slew of them two hundreth thousand. He tooke *Baiazeth* the Great Turke Prisoner, and kepte hym in a Cage, tyed and bounde wyth golden Chaynes.[1] When so ever hee tooke Horse, he caused the sayde *Baiazeth* to be brought out of hys Cage, and used his necke as a Styrope: and in this sorte caryed hym throughout all *Asia* in mockage and derysion. He vanquished the Persians, overcame the Medians, subdüed the Armenians, and spoiled all *Aegypt.* He

[1] This may be traced to Cuspinian's remark (*De Caesaribus* (n.d.), p. 542) 'In cavea cathenis aureis.'

built a Citie and called it *Marchantum*, wherein he kept all his Prisoners, and enriched the same with the spoyles of all such Cities as he conquered. It is reported in Histories, that in his hoast he had an incredible number of thousands, he used commonly to have xii hundreth thousand under him in Campe. When he cam in sight of his enemies, his custome was to set up three sortes of Pavylions or Tentes: the first, was white, signifying therby to his Enemyes, that if at that shew, they would yelde, there was hope of grace and mercye at hys handes: the next was redde, whereby he signified bloude and flame: and lastly blacke, which betokened utter subversion and mercilesse havocke of all things for their contempt.

APPENDIX E

A SHORT LIST OF EDITIONS AND AUTHORITIES

[*Note.* This list does not pretend to bibliographical completeness. Only the books of chief interest to a student of *Tamburlaine* are classified. A fuller list of later editions, for example, will be found in Appendix B, and the full titles of the early editions in the Introduction. References to works of less general application will occasionally be found in the footnotes. Notices of the play in general histories of literature and the drama are not included.]

I Early Editions

Tamburlaine the Great . . . 1590. 8vo. (Parts I and II in 1 vol.) O. Hn.

Tamburlaine the Great . . . 1593. 8vo. (Parts I and II in 1 vol.) L.

Tamburlaine the Great . . . 1597. 8vo. (Parts I and II in 1 vol.). Hn.

Tamburlaine the Great . . . 1605. (Part I), 1606 (Part II). 8vo. O. L. Hn., etc.

II Later Editions

A. Collected editions:

The Works of Christopher Marlowe. London. 1826. 3 vols. [pub. W. Pickering.]

The Works of Christopher Marlowe . . . by the Rev. A. Dyce. 3 vols. London. 1850. 1 vol. 1858, etc.

The Works of Christopher Marlowe . . . by Lt.-Col. Francis Cunningham. 1 vol. 1870.

The Works of Christopher Marlowe, edited by A. H. Bullen. 3 vols. London. 1885.

Christopher Marlowe (*The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists*), by Havelock Ellis. 1887, etc.

The Works of Christopher Marlowe, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke. Oxford. 1910.

The Works and Life of Christopher Marlowe (various editors). Methuen. 1930 *seq.*

B. Separate editions:

Marlowes Werke . . . 1. *Tamburlaine* her. v. Albrecht Wagner. Heilbronn. 1885.

Tamburlaine the Great, ed. U. M. Ellis-Fermor. Methuen. 1930

III Critical and Bibliographical

J. Broughton: *An Account of the Dramatic Poets before Shakespeare. The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1830. January, February, March, April and especially June.

MS. notes on *Tamburlaine* in the 1826 edition of Marlowe's works now in the B.M., No. 11771 d. 4.

J. P. Collier: MS. notes on *Tamburlaine* in Dyce's 1850 edition. B.M. 11771. bbb. 6.

J. Mitford: *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan., 1841.

Fraser's Magazine. Unsigned article, vol. xlvii.

C. J. T. Mommsen: *Marlowe and Shakespeare* [1860 ?].

J. S. Schipper: *De Versu Marlovii.* Bonn. 1867.

C. H. Herford and A. Wagner: *The Sources of Tamburlaine. Academy*, vol. xxiv. 1883.

L. Kellner: *Marlowes Werke* (Rev. of *Tamburlaine*) *Englische Studien*, vol. ix. 1885.

E. Faligan: *De Marlovianis Fabulis.* Paris. 1887.

F. Rogers: *Tamburlaine the Great* (report of paper only). *Academy*, xxxiv, p. 244. 1888.

O. Fischer: *Zur Charakteristik der Dramen Marlowes.* 1889.

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INDEX TO PROPER NAMES (GEOGRAPHICAL, CLASSICAL AND BIBLICAL) IN THE TEXT

Acantha, II. II i. 20
Achilles, I II. i. 24; / II. III v 68, 70
Aeacus, II IV i 172
Aegeus, II IV III. 13
Aeneas, I v ii. 318, 332
Aetna, II v. iii 233
Africa (Affric, etc.), I. I. i. 9, 89, 127, 142, 164; II. 16; II v. 85; III. i 23, 28; III 10, 32, 56, 60; III. 60, 63, 73, 99, 202, 205, 223, 242, 245; IV II 65; V. II 395; / II I I. 76; II 81; III 12; v. 8; vi. 68, 80; III. ii 124; iii. 20; v. I 164; III 140
Albania, I. I. i. 164; II. II. 31
Albanese, II. I. i. 61
Alcaron, I. III. iii. 76; / II. I. ii. 61; v. i. 172, 192
Alcides, I. v. ii 466; /II. IV. iii. 12
Aldeboran, II. IV. iii 61
Aleppo, II. III. I. 59; v. 2
Alexander, II. v. I. 69
Alexandria, II. I. I. 48; iii. 19; v. iii. 131
Almains, II. I. i. 22, 58
Amasia, II. II. iii. 44; III. i. 4, 51; v. ii. I
Amazonia(ns), II. I. i. 74; vi. 65
America, II. I. iii. 35
Antarctic Pole, II. v. iii. 154
Antioch, II. II i. 20
Aonian, I. IV. iii. 6
Apollo, I. I. ii. 211; / II. II. iv. 18; v. ii. 33; iii. 62
Appenines, II. I. ii. 34
Aquilon, I. III. ii. 78
Arabia(n), I. III. ii. 57; iii. 136; IV. i. 69; iii. 16, 29, 51, 64; iv. 93, 115; v. ii. 136, 316, 340, 411, 468; / II. I. i. 62, 31; v. iii. 130
Arabia Desert, II III. v. 35
Araris, I II. i 63; iii. 16
Archipelago, II. I. i. 75
Argier, I III i 49, 58; iii 55, 66; IV 118, 123, / II I v I, 8, 13, 16; III. iii. 20, IV i 39
Argolian, I IV iii. 2
Ariadan, II. III v 130
Armenia(n), I I I 163, II ii 14, / II. v III 127
Asant, I. III. III. 251
Asia, I. I. i. 50, 52, 95, 112, 162; ii 37, 73, 245; II. III 39; VII. 38, 64; III. I. 18, 23; iii 32, 60; v. II. 455; / II. I. i. 16, 72, IV i. 132; III. I, 98; v. III. 142, 153
Asia Major, II. v. ii 2
Asia Minor, II I. II 81
Asia the Less, II III. v. 40
Asphaltis, II. IV. iii 5, 68; v. i. 154, 203
Assyrian(s), II. v i. 71, 76
Atlas, I. II. I. 11; / II. IV i 129
Aurora, I. II. ii. 10; IV. I. 55
Auster, I. III. II 78
Austric, II. I. ii. 18
Avernas (Avernus), I. I. ii. 159; IV. iv. 18
Azamor, II. I. vi. 6

Babylon, II. IV. iii 93, 133; v I 35, 49, 63, 81, 116, 122, 127, 166, 170; ii. 4, 9
Badgeth, II. I. II. 32
Bagdet, II. v. i 157
Balaam, II. II. i. 54
Balsera, II. III. iii. 3
Barbarian, II. I. iii. 47
Barbary, I. III. i. I; iii 89; v. ii. 456; / II. I. vi. 7, 22, 47
Belgasar, II II. I. 19
Bellona, II. III. ii. 40
Belus, II. v i. 69

Biledull, II. i. vi. 21
Bithynia(ns), I. III. iii. 2, 137; IV. ii. 42, 98; iii. 25; / II. I. i. 64; III. v. 41; v. iii. 128
Black Sea, I. III. i. 25
Boheme (Bohemia), II. I. ii. 18; II. i. 1
Bootes, I. I. ii. 206; / II. I. vi. 43
Boreas, I. I. ii. 205; II. iv. 5; / II. I. vi. 33
Borno, II. I. vi. 76
Borno Lake, II. v. iii. 136
British shore, I. III. iii. 259
Buda, II. II. i. 1
Bulgaria, II. II. i. 8
Byather, II. I. vi. 73
Byron, II. I. i. 54; IV. iii. 6

Caesarea, II. II. i. 20
Cairo, II I. i. 47; iii. 15, 19
Calabrian, II. I. vi 94
Calydonian, I. IV. iii. 3
Canaria, II I. vi. 54
Carmonia, II. III. i. 5
Carnon, I. III. i. 60
Caspia(n) (Lake, Sea), I. I. i. 168; ii. 194; II. iii. 8; / II. IV. i 103; v. iii. 127, 241
Cazates, II. I. vi. 64
Cephalus, I. IV. iii. 4
Cerberus, II. v. i. 97
Ceres, II. IV. iii. 37
Charon, I. v. ii. 402
Chio, II. III. i. 51
Christ, II. II. ii. 32, 35, 39, 40, 55, 63, 64; iii. 11, 33
Cicilians, II. I. i. 62
Cimbrian, II. IV. i. 188
Cimmerian, I. III. ii. 77; v. ii. 171; / II. v. iii. 8
Clymene, I. IV. ii. 49; / II. v. iii. 231
Cocytus, I. v. ii. 155
Codemia, II. I. vi. 83
Colchis, I. IV. iv. 9
Constantinople, I. III. i. 6
Corinna, II. II. iv. 93
Crete, II. I. iii. 26
Cubar, II. I. vi. 74
Cupid, II. II. iv. 81
Cutheia, II. II. i. 18
Cyclopian, I. II. iii. 21
Cynthia, I. I. i. 13; IV. ii. 35; / II. II. ii. 47; iii. 30; iv. 18; III. iv. 50; IV. ii. 30; v. ii. 46
Cyprus, II. I. iii. 26; III. v. 12
Cyrus, I. I. i. 130

Damascus (Damasco), I. IV. i. 3; ii. 48, 99, 102, 114; iii. 18, 62; iv. 1, 8, 73, 83, 115; v. ii. 3, 17. 67, 93, 258; / II. I. vi. 78; II. i. 7; III. i. 60; ii. 125
Damon, I. I. i. 50
Danes, II. I. i. 22, 58
Danubius, II. I. i. 7, 23, 37; ii. 2, 72
Darius, I. I. i. 154
Darotes, II. I. iii. 20
Destiny, I. v. ii. 171
Deucalion, II. I. vi. 6
Dis, I. II. vii. 37; / II. IV. ii. 93

East India, *see* India
Ebena, I. v. ii. 84
Egypt(ia), I. I. ii. 6, 113; IV. iii. 10, 51; iv. 75, 93, 114, 138; v. i. 49; ii. 42, 90, 258, 318, 382, 387; / II. I. i. 4, 63; v iii 130
Egyptians, I. IV. i. 8; v. ii. 58, 455
Elysium, I. v. ii. 184, 403; / II. IV. ii. 87
Erebus, I. IV. i. 46; v. ii. 181
Ethiopian Sea, II. I. vi. 69; v. iii. 137
Euphrates, I. v. ii. 377; / II. III. i. 43, 54; v. ii. 3
Europe, I. I. i. 10, 127; III. i. 23; iii. 38, 135; / II. I. i. 30, 42; ii. 41; vi 81
Euxine Sea, I. I. i. 167; / II. IV. i. 102

Famastro, II. III. i 51
Fame, I. v. ii. 202; / II. III. iv. 63
Fatal Sisters, I. v. ii. 392; iv. 99; / II. III. iv. 54
Fates, I. I. ii. 173; IV. iv. 137
Fesse (Fez), I. III. iii. 66; IV. iv. 119, 123; / II. I. vi. 1, 3, 13, 23
Flora, I. v. ii. 77; / II. II. iii. 22
Frozen Sea, II. I. i. 26
Fury, Furies, I. II. vii. 53; IV. iv. 17; v. ii. 31, 155; / II. I. vi. 19; III. ii. 12; iv. 59; IV. ii. 92

Ganges, I. v. ii. 459
Gaza, II. III. i. 46
Georgia(n), I. II. ii. 15; / II. v. i. 31
Germany, II. I. ii. 8
Gibraltar, II. I. vi. 53
Gihon, I. v. ii. 60
Gorgon, I. IV. i. 18
Graecia(ns), Greeks, Greece, I. I. i. 130; II. v. 85; III. i. 14, 24, 29, 67; iii. 19, 32, 92, 204, 242; / II. I. i. 61; ii. 81; iii. 36; v. 1; II. iv. 87; III. v. 65, 66, 94; v. iii. 141

Gruntland, II. i. i. 26
Guallatia, II. i. vi. 51
Guyron's Head, II. i. i 17

Halla, II. iii v. 46
Harpy, I ii. vii. 50
Hector, II. iii. v. 65, 70
Hercules, I. iii. iii. 104
Hermes, I. i. ii. 209; / II. iv. ii. 18
Herycina, II. iv. iii. 122
Hippolytus, II. v. iii. 240
Homer, II. ii. iv. 89
Hungarians, II. i. i. 21
Hungary, II. i. i. 9, 51; ii. 37, 87; iii. 12
Hyades, I. iii. ii. 76
Hydra, I. iii. iii. 140

Ibis, I. iv iii. 37
Ida, II. iii. v 6
Ilion, II iv. iii 113
Illyria(ns), II. i. i. 64; iii. i. 5
India, I i. i 166; ii. 85; ii. v 41; iii. iii 254, 263; v. ii. 456; / II. i. i 69; iii. ii. 121; v iii. 135
Io, II i. iii 39
Italy, II. i. i. 39

Jaertis, *see* Jaxartes
Janus, II. ii. iv. 114
Jason, I. iv. iv. 9
Jaxartes, II. iv. i 108; iii 108
Jerusalem, II. ii. i. 21; iii. 43; iii. i. 4, 45; v. 32
Jove, I. i. i. 14, 170; ii. 87, 179, 198; ii. iii 19; vii. 17, 36; v. ii. 227, 301, 449; / II. i. ii. 24, vi. 16, 26, 39; ii. ii. 41; iv. 107 iii. i. 36; iv. 46; v. 21, 56; iv. i. 111, 151, 200; ii. 18; iii. 24, 33, 60; v. i. 92, 98; iii. 35, 61, 105
Jubaltar, I. iii iii. 256
Judæa, II iii. i 46
Julius Caesar, I. iii. iii. 152
Juno, I. iii ii 54; v. ii 448
Jupiter, I. ii. vi. 4; iii. iii 123; iv. ii. 25

Lantchidol, II. i. i. 69
Larissa, II. i: iv. 5, 107; ii. ii. 6; iii. ii. 34, 141
Latona, I. v. ii. 452
Lerna, I. iv. iv. 21
Lesbia, II. ii. iv. 93
Lethe, II. iii. ii 13
Limnasphaltis, II. v. i. 17, 67, 115; ii. 5

Machda, II. i. vi. 60
Mahomet, I. iii. i. 54; iii. 75, 195, 208, 269, 270; iv. ii. 2; iv. 53; v. ii 176, 301, 417; / II. i ii. 60; iii. 65; iv. 109; ii. ii 32, 44; iii. 11, 34; iii. i. 3; iii. 36; iv. 31, 46; v. 17, 55, 92; iv. 1, 121, 197; v. i. 174, 178, 181, 186. 197; ii. 11, 24, 31, 37
Manico, II. i. vi. 71
Mare Majore, II i vi 88; iii i. 52
Mare Roso, II. iii. v. 131
Mars, I. ii. vii. 58; iv. i 35
Mauritania(n), I iii. iii 16
Mausolus, II. ii iv 133
Mecca, II. i. ii. 64; iii. v. 131
Media, I. i. i. 163; ii. 12; ii. ii 33; v. 83
Meleager, I iv. iii 1
Memphis, Memphian, I. i. i. 12; iv. i 1; ii. 104
Mercury, I i. i 14
Mesopotamia, I i. i 165
Mexico, I iii. iii 255
Minerva, I. iii ii 52
Moors, I. iii. iii 89, 136; iv ii. 98, 455; / II. i i. 62; vi. 14; iii iii. 29; iv 20
Morocco, I. iii. iii. 66; iv. iv. 120, 123; / II i. vi 1, 10
Muses, I iii. ii. 50; v. ii 81

Natolia, II i. i 6, 13, 53; ii. 37, 71, 75, 85; v 10, 14; vi 34, 90; ii. i. 16; ii. 3; iii i 4, 8; iv 86; v. 8, 21, 158; iv. iii. 102
Natolians, II i. i. 63
Neptune, I. ii. vii 37; iii. ii 52
Nigra Silva, II, i vi. 85
Nilus (Nile), I iii ii 47; iv i 9; v ii. 377; / II i vi 59; iii i. 43
Ninus, II I. i. 69
Nubia, II. i vi. 75; v iii 135

Oblia, II i. vi 84
Ops, I. ii. vii 13
Orcus, I iii i 65; / II. ii. iii 25
Orestes, I. i ii 242
Orminius, II. ii. i. 18; ii. 2

Padolia, II. i. vi 83
Palestina, II. iii. v. 32, 54
Paris, I. i. i. 66
Parthia, I. i, i. 165; ii. i. 65; v. 83
Pegasus, I. i. ii. 94
Persepolis, I. i. i. 37, 141; ii. v. 24, 40, 49, 50, 54; iii. iii. 255

Persia (Persea), I. i. i. 6, 59, 155, 162; II. 165; II. i. 48; ii. 71; iv. 23; v. 8, 19; vi. 40; vii. 39, 56, 67; III. i. 20, 45; ii. 59; iii. 82, 132, 189; IV. ii. 47; v. ii. 94, 432, 445; / II. i. iv. 74; III. i. 16; v. 4, 157; IV. iii 106; v. i. 128, 162, 211, 213, ; iii 126
Persians' sepulchre, II. III. v. 19
Phaeton, II. v. iii 244
Pharsalia, I. III. iii. 154
Phlegethon, II. III. ii. 13
Phœbe, I. III. ii. 19; / II. v. iii. 232
Phœbus, I. i. ii 40; / II. i. iii. 51; II. iv. 50
Phrygia, II. III. v. 10
Phyteus, II. v. iii. 237
Pierides, I. III. ii 51
Plato, I. IV. ii 96
Polypheme, II. i. i. 28
Portingale, I. III. iii. 258
Progne, I. IV. iv. 24
Proserpina, II. IV. iii. 36
Pygmalion, II. i. iii 38
Pylades, I. i. ii. 242
Pyramides, I. IV. ii. 103

Red Sea, II. v. iii. 132
Rhadamanth, II. IV. i. 172
Rhamnis, I. II iii. 37
Rhamnusia, II. III. IV. 57
Rhodope, I. i. ii. 88
Riso, II. III. i. 53
Rome, II. II. i. 9; iv. 92
Russian, I. i. ii. 193

Samarcanda, II. IV. i. 105; iii. 107, 130
Sancina, II. III. i. 53
Saturne, I. i. i. 13; II. vii. 36; / II. IV. iii. 125
Saturnia, II. v. i. 77
Saul, II. II. i. 54
Scalonia(n), II. III. i 46
Scythia(n), I. i. i. 85; ii. 17, 89, 152, 154, 224, 243; II. v. 83, 97; III. iii. 68; IV. i. 2; / II. i. i. 68; III. i. 15; iv. 19, 29, 37; v. 90; v. i. 138; iii. 143
Selinus, II. IV. iii. 121
Semiramis, II. III. v. 37; v. i. 73
Sicily, II. IV. iii. 4
Sinai, II. III. i. 47
Sinus Arabicus, II. IV. iii. 104
Siria, I. i. ii. 4, 77
Slavonians, II. i. i. 22, 58
Soldino, II. III. i. 59
Soria(ns), II. i. i. 63; II. i. 21; iii. 44; III. i. 4, 58; iii. 2; v. 41
Spain, II. I iii 34; vi. 52
Stoka, II. i. vi. 83
Styx, Stygian, I. v. ii. 171, 193, 401; / II. III. ii. 13

Tartars, Tartarian, I. i. i. 16; ii. 93; II. II 65; III i 2; iii 151, 171; v. ii. 268; / II. II iii. 18; v. i. 162
Tartary, II. IV. i 43
Tenedos, II. II. iv. 88
Terrene (sea, main), I. III. i. 10, 25; iii. 50; / II. i. i. 37; iii. 25; IV. iii. 103; v. iii. 132
Tesella, II. i. vi. 21
Theban, I. IV iii. 4
Themis, I. IV. iii. 5
Thessalian, I. v. II. 70
Thetis, II. i. vi. 42; III. iv. 51
Thracia(ns), I. IV. iv 24; / II. i. i 64; III i. 4; IV. iii. 12
Tigris, II v. ii 3
Trebizon, II. i. i 33; ii. 85; iii 44; III. i. 4, 50; v. 40
Tripoly, I. III. iii. 17; / II. i. v. 13; III i 59
Trojans, I. v. ii 330
Troy, II. II IV. 86
Tunis, II I VI. 6
Turkey, II i. i 18, 56; II. 38; vi. 31; III. i 7; v. 14, 64
Turk(s), I i. i. 16; II. v. 5; III. i. 8, 44; iii. 3, 6, 46, 72, 136, 163, 167, 168, 201; IV. ii. 42; v ii 94; / II. i. i. 62, 94; II. i. 6; III ii. 138, 147; iv. 87; v. 41, 171; IV. i. 2, 161; iii. 57; v. II. 25; iii. 129
Turnus, I. v. ii. 318, 331
Typhon, I. III. iii. 109
Tyros, II. i. vi. 82

Venetian Gulf, I. III. iii. 249
Venus, I. v. ii. 61; / II. IV. ii. 42
Verna, II. II. i. 8
Vienna, II i. ii. 10, 26
Volga, I. i. ii. 103; IV. i. 4

Xerxes, I. II. iii. 15

Zanzibar, II. i. vi. 67; v. iii. 139
Zoacum, II. II. iii. 20
Zona Mundi, II. IV. i. 42
Zula, II. II. i. 7

GENERAL INDEX

(This does not include a complete glossarial index; references to notes upon words are only given in the cases in which these notes are relatively full)

A

Abbott's *Shakespeare Grammar*, 90 *n*
abjection, 168 *n*.
accomplishments, 207 *n*
Admiral's Company and *Tamburlaine*, 1, 2, 3, 16, 61–2
Aeschylus, 56, 89 *n*, 100 *n*, 192 *n*
affections, 85 *n*.
Africa, Bajazet's empire in, 117 *n*, 118 *n*., 135 *n*
Agamemnon, 88 *n*.
Agydas, 119 *n*
Albania, 97 *n*
Aleppo, 235 *n*.
Alexander, defeat of Darius, 75–6 *n* On the Euphrates, 235 *n*. Destruction of Persepolis, 106 *n* Compared with Tamburlaine, 49, 287
Allde, E, printer of *Tamburlaine*, O_4, 67 *n*
Allen, D C, 35, 123, 139, 310
Alleyn, E, as Tamburlaine, 11–12
Amasia, 181 *n*, 221 *n*.
Amurath II, 184 *n*, 191 *n*, 209 *n* At the battle of Varna, 41–2, 43
Amyras, 181 *n*
Anatolia, Timūr's conquest of, 19. *See also* Natolia
Anaximenes of Miletus, 169 *n*
Ancora (Angora), site of battle between Timūr and Bajazet, 19, 25
annoy, 147 *n*
Antony and Cleopatra, 87 *n*, 137 *n*, 175 *n*.
Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, 161 *n*
Arabia, 65. Timūr's invasion of, 25, 39, 293, 140 *n*
Arabshah, Ahmad b. Muhammed ibn, 24 *n*., 25 *n*., 27, 28 *n*., 157 *n*., 288 *n*, 295 *n*. *Timur-Nameh*, 312
Araris = Araxis ?, Araxus ?, 95 *n*.
Arber, E, 67 *n*
Argier (Algeria), 116 *n*.
argin, 225 *n*
argosies, 186 *n*
argument, 245–6 *n*
Ariosto, Marlowe's adaptation of episode from *Orlando Furioso*, 44–5 and *n*, 231 *n*., 252 *n*
Aristophanes, 161 *n*
Aristotle, 169 *n*, 246 *n* Physiology of, 88 *n*, 114 *n* *Metaphysics* of, 141 *n*
armado, 192 *n*
Armenia, Ortelius' placing of, 76 *n*, 95 *n*, 96 *n*
Arraignement of the Whole Creature, 12 *n*
artier, 12 *n*., 249 *n*
Ashton, P, translator of Giovio, 27, 28, 29, 35, 292 *n*, 313
Asia, Bajazet's empire in, 117 *n* Overrun by Tamburlaine, 290, 293, 306 Marlowe's use of the name, 71 *n*, 184 *n*.
Asphaltis, 254 *n*
Astrology, Marlowe's knowledge of and references to, 69–70 *n*., 94 *n*, 222 *n*, 238 *n*, 274 *n*.
Astronomy, Marlowe's knowledge of and references to, 69 *n*, 81 *n*, 85–6 *n*., 87 *n*., 93 *n*, 112 *n*, 141 *n*, 142 *n*, 144 *n*., 188 *n*, 214 *n*, 222 *n*, 223 *n*, 234 *n*, 257*n*.
Atheism, the Elizabethan use of the term, 7–8 and *n*, 10 *n*.
Australasia, 276 *n*.
Authorship of *Tamburlaine*, 11–17

B

Babylon (and Babylonia), 73 *n*., 236 *n*., 260 *n*, 262 *n*. Timūr's siege of, 25, 32, 264 *n*.

Baghdad, Tīmūr's destruction of, 21
Bajazet, Emperor of Turks, 117 *n*. Champion of Islam, 133 *n*. Character and career; accounts of, 291–3; Byzantines', 23–6; Schiltberger's, 18; degradation at hands of western historians and Marlowe, 23 *n*, 40, 48, 56, 57, 144 *n*. His siege of Constantinople, 23, 116 *n*. Defeat by Tīmūr, 19, 25, 117 *ns*, 125 *ns*, 126 *n*, 302. Treatment by Tīmūr, 24 *n*., 28, 29 *n*, 37, 140 *n*, 142 *n*., 144 *n*, 292, 293 and *n*, 304, 305. Death of, 26 and *n*, 32, 305. Sons of, 43, 183 *n*, 296–7; 181 *n*.
Bakeless, J., xi, 310
Baldwin, 181 *n*, 308
Baldwin, T. W., 259 *n*, 311
Balsera, 44, 44–5 and *n*., 228–9 *n*
banned, 168 *n*.
Barbary, 116 *n*., 193 *n*. Bajazet's empire in, 117 *n*
Barocius, *Cosmographia*, 145 *n*.
basilisk, 136 *n*.
Battenhouse, R. W, 113, 287, 310
Bavand, W, 313
Bec, Jean de, *Histoire du Grand Empereur Tamerlanes*, 17, 24, 34, 314
Belleforest, 313. Marlowe's knowledge of, 33, 44, 45 *n*, 83 *n*, 140–1 *n*, 171 *n* Quoted, 141 *n*.
Bible, the, Marlowe's reminiscences of, 89 *n*, 92 *n*., 94 *n*., 106 *n*, 161 *n*, 207 *n*., 213 *n*, 271 *n*
Bibliander, 154 *n*, 187 *n*
Bizarus, P., his account of Tamburlaine and Marlowe's knowledge of, 26, 28 *n*., 33, 35, 37, 69 *n*, 75 *n*, 106 *n*., 181 *n*, 304 *n*, 314
Black Book, the, reference to *Tamburlaine*, 14
Boas, F. S, 310
Bodin, Jean, 23 *n*., 40 *n*, 144 *n*, 313
Bodleian Library, early *Tamburlaine* octavos in, 1, 3
Boissardus, J. J., 314
Bonfinius, 307. Marlowe's borrowings from, 42, 43, 190 *n*., 207 *n*, 209 *n*. Quoted, 206–7 *n*, 209 *n*.
boss, 132 *n*.
Brennan, C, 78 *n*, 309
Brereton, J. le G., 304; 88 *n*, 164 *n*., 223 *n*.
Breton, N., *Tamburlaine* attributed to, 14
brigandine, 199 *n*.
British Museum Library, early *Tamburlaine* octavos in, 2, 3
Brooke, Professor C. F. T, 47, 62, 283, 308, 310. On relations of the octavos, 282 On authorship of *Tamburlaine*, 16–17. *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe*, 16. *The Marlowe Canon*, 17 Marlowe's works, edition of, 285, 308 On Broughton's edition, 285 References in notes and notes by, 3, 71, 73, 88, 101, 186, 254
Broughton, J, 304. On Heywood's reference to *Tamburlaine*, 11–12. MS. notes on Marlowe's works, 283 Edition of *Tamburlaine* prepared but not published (?), 285 References in notes and notes by, 68, 69, 76, 161, 162, 164, 187, 194, 201, 231, 248, 254, 261, 263
Browne, Sir T., 100 *n*, 253 *n*.
Byzantine Empire, 117 *n*
Byzantine historians, 32, 183. Accounts of Tīmūr and Bajazet, 23–6, 125 *n*. Understanding of Tartar character, 22 *seq*. Debt of early sixteenth-century historians to, 23, 26; of Mexia to, 30. Additions made by later historians to accounts of, 139 *n*, 295 *n*.
Bullen, A. H, 284, 303 References in notes, 149, 164, 203, 229, 243, 261

C

Cairo, 186 *n*
Callapine, son of Bajazet, 43
Callimachus, on battle of Varna, 33, 42, 312
Calyphas, son of Tamburlaine, 40, 55 Marlowe's treatment of character of, 195 *n*, 197 *n*, 243 *n*. Originality of Marlowe's conception of, 44, 56, 181
Cambinus, 27, 33, 35. Account of Tīmūr, 28–9, 139 *n*., 289 *n*., 292 *n*, 294 *n*, 297, 312
Cambises, 68
Camden, C., 310
Capha, legend of, 29, 30
Capital letters, use of in O_1, vi
Carnon, 119 *n*.
Carpini, 18, 22, 311

casemates, 226 *n.*
Caspian Sea, 86 *n.*, 95 *n.*
Catullus, 216 *n.*
Caucasus, 96 *n*, 97 *n.*
cavalieros, 225 *n.*
Celebinus, 181 *n.* Character of, 277 *n.*
Chalcondylas, account of Timūr, 17, 23, 24–6, 33, 36 and *n*, 144 *n*, 157 *n.*, 181 *n*, 295 *n.*, 296 *n*, 304 *n*, 312 Marlowe's debt to, 36–7
Chambers, Sir E. K, on date of *Tamburlaine*, 6 On *Tamburlaine*, 61–2, 310
Chapman, G, 138 *n*, 254 *n.*
Characters, treatment of, 82 *n*, 91 *n*, 103 *n.* Development in Part II, 54–5. *See also under* Calyphas, Zenocrate, etc
Charlton, H. B., 309
Cheria, name for Tamburlaine's capital, 296
Chinese Empire, Timūr's expedition against, 19
Choephoroi, 89 *n.*
Cicero, Marlowe's knowledge of and possible borrowings from, 52, 60, 71 *n*, 145 *ns*, 200 *n.*, 223 *n.*
Clark, E. G, 310
Clauserus, 154 *n*, 187 *n.*
Clavijo, account of Timūr, 18, 19, 20–2, 25, 311; of his camp and capital, 258 *n*, 290 *n.*, 294 *n*, 303–4 and *ns.* Quoted, 303–4. Episodes not mentioned by, 139 *n.*
Clawson, J. L., early *Tamburlaine* octavo in library of, 3
Cock, A. A., 286
Collating, method used in, v
Collier, J. P, MS. notes in Dyce's ed. Marlowe's works, 284, 308 References in notes and notes by, 111, 158, 164, 184, 231
Comic passages in *Tamburlaine*, 67 *n*, 104 *n*, 134 *n.* *See also* Prose
conceit, 80 *n.*, 120 *n*, 162 *n*, 174 *n*, 260 *n.*
consort, 152 *n.*
Constantinople, siege of, 25, 41, 116 *n.*, 117 *n*, 126 *n*, 291. Central event of Byzantine histories, 23
continent, 74 *n.*
Cook, A. S., 164 *n*, 309
Coriolanus, 80 *n.*, 151 *n.*
Cosmology, Marlowe's knowledge of and interest in, 142 *n*, 152 *n*, 251 *n.*
Cosroe, 40, 65
counterscarps, 225 *n*
counterfeit, 120 *n*
countermand, 119 *n*
countervail, 138 *n*
Crawford, C, 309
Crinitus, P, 26, 29, 35, 139, 294 *n*, 312
Cunningham, editor, 284, 308 References in notes and notes by, 78, 83, 86, 118, 131, 164, 201, 203, 213, 216, 225, 226, 228–9, 229, 231, 236
Curio, historian, 29, 33, 35, 292 *n*, 294 *n*, 313
Cuspinian, historian, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 125 *n*, 292 *n*, 312
Cyriscelebes, 181 *n*
Cyrus, King of Persia, 74 *n*

D

Dam, Van, B A. P, 310
Damascus, Timūr's siege of, 25, 29, 137 *n*, 201 *n*, 293–4. Marlowe's use of accounts of, 156–7 *n.*, 230 *n.* His use of form Damasco, 221 *n.*
Danchin, F C, 309 On date of *Tamburlaine*, 8–10 On Marlowe's borrowings from Ive, etc, 8–10 and *n*, 45 and *n*, 216 *n*, 225 *n.*
Dante, *Inferno*, 216 *n.* Improbability of Marlowe's knowledge of, 223 *n.*
Danube, Marlowe's account of its course, 46, 185 *n*
Darius I, King of Persia, 69, 74, 106, 290
Darius III, King of Persia, 76
Date of *Tamburlaine*, 6–10
Death, Marlowe's personification of, 160 *n.*
Degenhart, M., 309
Deighton, K D, 164 *n*, 309
Destruction of women and children of conquered city, 29, 30, 295 *n.* Marlowe's use of episode, 156–7 *n.* *See also under* Ispahan
Dick, H G, 23 *n.*, 34 *n*, 40 *n*, 48 *n.*, 52 *n*, 144 *n*, 311
Diogenes of Apollonia, 169 *n.*
Donne, J, 247 *n.*
doubtlessly, 110 *n.*

Ducas, historian, account of Tīmūr, 17, 23–4, 312
Dyce, A., editor, 283, 284, 308. On authorship of *Tamburlaine*, 14. References in notes and notes by, 76, 81, 83, 93, 94, 101, 114, 118, 120, 121, 131, 134, 141, 142, 145, 150, 159, 164, 165, 167, 177, 181, 186, 207, 213, 214, 220, 229, 254, 261, 280
Dyce Library, early *Tamburlaine* octavo in, 3

E

ecstasies, 167 *n*.
Editions, early. *See* Octavos
Edward II, anticipations of mood of in *Tamburlaine*, 44, 214 *n* Relative immaturity of *Tamburlaine*, 50, 59, 82 *n*, 120 *n*
Egypt, Tamburlaine's invasion of, 140 *n* ; turned back by deserts, 293 Bajazet's empire in, 117 *n* Marlowe's use of name, 186 *n*
Eleazar, Prince of Bulgars, 25
Electra (Euripides), 89 *n*
Electra (Sophocles), 89 *n*.
Elements, theory of, Marlowe's references to, 89 *n*, 110 *n*, 112 *n*, 113 *n*., 114 *n*. *See also under* Humours
Ellis, H., editor, 113 *n*., 275 *n*., 284, 308
Ellis-Fermor, U. M, 308, 310
Elze, K, 118 *n*, 203 *n*, 309
Emendations, use of, v
enchas'd, 81 *n*.
Equator, 74 *n*.
Eumenides, 89 *n*.
Euphrates, 235 *n*.
Euripides, 56, 89 *n*., 169 *n*., 280 *n*.
Eusebius, historian, 26
Everyman's Library, edition, 285
expressless, 168 *n*.

F

Fabriano, Mambrino da, 286, 292 *n*, 313
facts, 121 *n*.
Faligan, E., 308
fancy, 121 *n*.
Farmer, on authorship of *Tamburlaine*, 14
Faustus, references and comparisons with *Tamburlaine*, 52, 58, 74 *n*., 86 *n*., 134 *n*., 138 *n*., 143 *n*., 149 *n*., 171 *n*, 184 *n*., 188 *n*., 210 *n*., 215 *n*.
Fez (Fesse), 116 *n*., 128 *n*. ; King of, 65 *n*.
figure, 255 *n*.
Fischer, O, 308
Fletcher, J, 69 *n*.
Flynn, J. G, 131
Foreste, see Fortescue
form, technical use of term by Marlowe, 246 *n*, 252 *n*
Fortescue, historian, 29, 37 and *n*, 307. Relation to Mexia, 286, 287–97 and notes. *The Foreste*, quotation from, 287–97. References in notes, 127, 159, 183, 230
Frankel, L, 308
Fraser's Magazine, 164, 308
Frederick, source of character (?), 181 *n*
Fregoso, historian, 26–7 Account of Tamburlaine, 28, 36, 37, 38, 69, 82, 85, 288 and *n*, 297 *n*, 303 *n*, 312 Quoted, 302–3.
Furies, Marlowe's references to, 149–50 *n*
furniture, 139 *n*

G

gabions, 231 *n*
Garcio, Don, de Silva, 314
Gardner, H. L, 311
Gaudius, historian, 18, 34
Gawdy, P, letter of, 6
Gazellus, 181 *n*
Genoese merchant, legend of, 29, 295 and *n* Marlowe's adaptation of, 122 *n*, 295 *n*.
giantly, 109 *n*
Giovio, historian, 27, 28, 30, 35, 292 *n*, 312
Gorgon, 138 *n*.
Granucci, historian, 28, 29. Account of *Tamburlaine*, 33, 35, 38, 92, 125, 157, 181, 292 *n*., 294 *n*, 313
Greece, Bajazet's conquest of and empire in, 117 *n*, 126 *n*., 135 *n*., 291
Greene, R, reference to *Tamburlaine*, 6–8, 12–13, 266 *n*.
Greg, W. W., 62 *n*, 310
Gruget, C, historian, 286, 292 *n*., 313

H

Hakluyt, 187 *n*., 235 *n*.
Half-title, of Part II, O_{1-3}, 2–3

Hall, Virgidemiarum, 68
Hamlet, 100 *n*, 170 *n*, 240 *n*
Hammer-Purgstall, J v., 24 *n*, 29 *n*, 292 *n*, 311
Hannibal, compared with Tamburlaine, 305
Harington, translator of Ariosto, 45 *n*.
Harriott, mathematician, 48
Hart, H. C, 309
Harvey, scientist, 89 *n*, 112 *n*
Haytoun, historian, account of Tamburlaine, 17, 18, 27 and *n*, 100, 254, 312 Marlowe's knowledge of, 22–3 *n*, 26 *n*, 28 *n*, 36, 38. Quoted, 254 *n*
Hazlitt, W C, on O_1, 4
Heading, of Part I, $O_{1\,4}$, 68; of Part II, $O_{1\,4}$, 182
Henry IV, Part I, 249 *n*
Henry IV, Part II, 254 *n*
Henry V, 165 *n*
Henry VI, Part III, 107 *n*
Henslowe, references to *Tamburlaine*, 61–2, 149 *n*
Herford, C H, on sources of *Tamburlaine*, 286, 308
Hero and Leander, 50, 58, 89 *n*, 98 *n*, 150 *n*, 169 *n*, 171 *n*.
Herodotus, 95 *n*, 100 *ns*, 260 *n*.
Hesiod, 130 *n*
Heywood, T, 11
Hill, W, publisher, 67
Holmes, E, 310
Homer, 93 *n*, 100 *n*, 146 *n*
Homeric Hymn, 255 *n*.
Horace, Marlowe's knowledge of, 52, 60, 161 *n*, 177 *n*, 216 *n*, 259 *n*
Hubbard, F G, 309
Hubner, E, 309
Humours, 195 *n*, 273–4 *n* *See also under* Elements
Huntington Library, early *Tamburlaine* octavos in, 1, 3
Hyrcania, Timūr's invasion of, 25

I

Ignatius, B, 297
India, 19, 25–6, 106 *n*, 136 *n*.
Ingram, J. H., 309
investion, 77 *n*.
Iphigeneia in Tauris, 90 *n*.
Ispahan, 25 *n*, 157 *n*, 295 *n*.
Ive, P, connection with Walsingham family, 9–10. *Practise of Fortification*, 8–10, 45 and *n*., 197 *n*, 225 *ns*, 226 *n*.
Izard, T C xi, 36, 139, 287, 311

J

Jaxartes, 60, 100 *n*, 246 *n*.
Jenghiz Khan, 19, 20, 106 *n*
Jerusalem, King of, 181 *n*
Jew of Malta, 137 *n*
Johnson, F R, 112, 311
Jones, R, printer, 67, 104 *n*, 134 *n*
Julian, Papal Legate, 42–3

K

Kastner, L E, 309
Keats, and Marlowe, 51
Kellner, L, 308
Khans of Tartary, 18–22, military genius of, 19
King John, 75 *n*, 90 *n*, 110 *n*
Knolles, historian, 34, 314
Kocher, P H, 113, 162, 311
Koeppel, E, 309
Koran, the, 211 *n*
Kublai Khan, 19, 20
Kwand Amir, account of Timūr, 23, 312

L

Lachryma Christi, 204 *n*.
Lamb, C, *Specimens*, 16
Langbaine, G, on authorship of *Tamburlaine*, 13
Lantchidol, 187 *n*
Larissa, 194 *n*
Latinisms in Marlowe's English; constructions, 74 *n*, 97 *n*.; vocabulary, 82 *n*, 106 *n*, 141 *n*, 157 *n*, 177 *n*, 242 *n*, 272 *n*. Rare mistakes in quantity, 162 *n*, 217 *n*
leaguer, 201 *n*
Le Roy, Loys, 33, 113, 140 *n*, 254, 313
Leunclavius, historian, account of Timūr, 17, 18, 26 *n*, 27, 34, 292 *n*, 314
Lonicerus, historian, account of Timūr and Marlowe's knowledge of, 33 and *n*, 35, 42, 144 *n*, 181 *n*, 206 *n*, 211 *n*, 304 *n*, 313. Quoted, 181 *n*, 206 *n*, 211 *n*.
Love's Labour's Lost, 114 *n*
Lucan, Marlowe's knowledge of and possible reminiscences, 52, 60, 131 *n*, 138 *n*, 161 *n*.

Lucas, F. L., 214
Lucretius, 123 *n*, 147 *n*.
Lydgate, 237–8 *n*, 280 *n*.

M

Macbeth, 121 *n*, 131 *n*., 151 *n*, 170 *n*, 196 *n*, 252 *n*.
Machiavelli, 223 *n*
Mackail, J W, 113 *n*
McKerrow, R B, 3 and *n*, 4, 67 *n*, 309
Macrobius, 145 *n*
Madness, Marlowe's treatment of, 170 *n*, 247 *n*
Magni Tamerlanis . . Vita *See* Perondinus
Mahomet, Tamburlaine's attitude to, 7, 266 *n*
Mahometan beliefs, Marlowe's references to, 92 *n*.
Malone, E, on authorship of *Tamburlaine*, 14 and *n*
Mambrino, *see* Fabriano
manage, 272 *n*
Maps, Marlowe's use of, 46–8
Marlowe, C, authorship of *Tamburlaine*, 11–16 Treatment of his sources; general, 34–5, 38–41, 48–52; Mexia, 38–41; Perondinus, 38–41; *see also under* Ariosto, Belleforest, Haytoun, Lonicerus, etc, relative slightness of his debt, 50–2. Treatment of Tamburlaine; interpretation of character of Timūr, 18, 40, 48–51; affinity with Perondinus here, 32; original significance of figure of Timūr, 52–3; changes in this conception as play advances, 53–4; ultimate fundamental misinterpretation of Timūr, 58–9; the essential value of this, 60–1. His scholarship, 51–2; *see also under* Aristotle, Cicero, Horace, Lucan, Ovid, Virgil, etc.; *see also under* Astronomy, Cosmology, Elements, Humours, Latinisms, Maps, Ortelius, Physiology, Tartars, Timūr Khan, the historians in general, etc.
Marquardsen, A, 309
mated, 73 *n*
Mauretania, 126 *n*.
Media, boundaries and position of, 76 *n*., 97 *n*.
Mercantam (Merchantum), Timūr's capital, 298, 307
metaphysical, 252 *n*.
Metre and prosody, notes on, 71, 78, 82, 95, 96, 102, 105, 106, 113, 117, 141, 150, 162, 166, 167, 171, 171–2, 175, 203, 266, 270, 271
Mexia, Pedro, historian, account of Tamburlaine, 18, 26, 28 *n*, 29, 30–1, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 303 *n*, 312 His sources, 290 *n*., 297. Marlowe's modification of his account, 48–50. References to and quotations in notes, 69, 82, 85, 122, 125, 127, 140, 144, 156–7, 158, 171, 181, 183
Meyer, E, 304
Millet, R. P, 216 *n*.
Milton, comparison with, 52, 147 *n*.
Mitford, T, 132, 165, 178, 226, 308
Mommsen, C J T, 308
Mongols, *see* Tartars
Moor, Marlowe's use of name, 200 *n*.
Morocco (Moroccus), 116 *n*, 128 *n*.
Muenster, cosmographer, 33, 35, 313
Mulfazat, 297, 311
Mycetes, character of, 40, 56, 65, 72–3 *n*, 103 *n*

N

Nashe, T, *Tamburlaine* attributed to, 14
Natolia, 183 *n*
Neilson, W. A, editor, 286
Nemesis, 101 *n*, 233 *n*.
Newnes, edition, 285
Newton, T., translator of Curio, 28, 33 and *n*, 35, 125 *n*., 181 *n*., 248 *n*., 292 *n*., 294 *n*, 306–7, 313. Supposed author of *Tamburlaine*, 13
Nicholay, N., 81 *n*, 116 *n*., 125 *n*., 127 *n*., 135 *n*. Quoted, 127 *n*., 185 *n*.
Nosworthy, J M., 311

O

Octavos, the four early, 1–6; their relations, 5–6, 281–2, 151 *n*.; of 1590 (O_1), v–viii, 1–2, 67, 134 *n*., 281–2, 283–4, 285, 307; of 1593 (O_2), 2, 67, 283–4; of 1597 (O_3), 2–3, 5, 67, 281–2, 307; of 1605/6 (O_4), 3–4, 67, 281–2,

307. Supposed earlier edition of O_1, 4–5; of 1592, identified with O_2, 4–5
Olympia, source of character and episode of, 44–5 and *n*
Orcanes, 41–2, 55, 181 *n*.
Orestes, 89 *n*
orifex, 232 *n*.
Orlando Furioso, *see* Ariosto
Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Marlowe's use of, 47–8, 52, and notes to, 72, 76, 77, 82, 95, 97, 116, 135, 184, 185, 187, 188, 201, 202, 203, 205–6, 240, 243, 246
Othello, 185 *n*
Ovid, Marlowe's knowledge and possible reminiscences of, 52, 60, and notes to, 81, 85, 87, 90, 93, 101, 109, 112, 114, 122, 123, 129, 143, 146, 149, 150, 161, 167, 185, 186, 192, 200, 201, 216, 223, 224, 255, 259, 263

P

Paleologus, Manuel, Emperor, 117 *n*.
Palmerius, historian, 26, 28, 35, 297 *n*, 312
Panama Canal, Marlowe's apparent anticipation of, 135 *n*.
parcel, 156 *n*
Parr, J, 69–70, 274 *n*, 311
Parthia, 76 *n* Parthian origin of Tamburlaine, 288
pathetical, 88 *n*
Perondinus, historian, account of Tamburlaine, 26, 28 *n*., 29, 31–2, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, and notes to 69, 81, 82, 85, 92, 93, 122, 125, 127, 132, 144, 156, 158, 168, 169, 258, 273, 288, 289, 292, 294, 296, 393, 313. Marlowe's affinity with his account, 32; and modifications of it, 48–50. Quoted, 304–6, and in notes to 94, 127, 185, 266–7
Persae, 100 *n*.
Persepolis, 70 *n*., 95 *n*., 106 *n*
Persia, 76 *n*., 106 *n*., 117 *n*. Tamburlaine's connection with, 19, 28, 28 *n*., 37, 289, 298, 303 *n*.
Pétis de la Croix, historian, 314
Phelps, W. L., 285
Phillips, E., on authorship of *Tamburlaine*, 13, 15
Phrantzes, historian, account of Timūr, 17, 23–4, 29, 292 *n*., 312
Physiology, Marlowe's knowledge of, 89 *n*., 110 *n*., 112 *n*., 153 *n*., 232 *n*., 274 *n*.
Pindar, 129 *n*.
Pinkerton, P. F., editor, 284
Pirates, Algerian, 127 *n*.
pitch, 93 *n*.
Pius II, Pope and historian, 27, 29, 35, 100 *n*, 157 *n*, 292 *n*, 294 *n*, 295, 297 *n*, 312
Platina, historian, 26, 28, 35, 297 *n*, 312
Plato, 161 *n*. The wondrous year of, 144–5 *n*. Thought of, indirectly affecting Marlowe's, 112 *n*
Plutarch, 235 *n*
Podesta, historian, 26 *n*., 292 *n*, 293 *n*, 304 *n*, 314
Polo, Marco, 20, 22
Praz, M, 309
precinct, 79 *n*
Primaudaye, historian, 26, 28 *n*., 34 and *n*, 36, 37, 38, 69 *n*, 82 *n*, 85 *n*., 140 *n*, 144 *n*, 169 *n*, 292 *n*, 303, 304 *n*, 314
prolocutor, 87–8 *n*
Prose passages in *Tamburlaine*, almost invariably suggest corruption, 104 *n*, 149 *n*, 193 *n*, 222 *n*, 239 *n*, 241 *n* Perhaps intentional use of, 170 *n* Recast as verse, 154 and *n* *See also* Comic passages
Ptolemaeus, 113 *n*
Ptolemaic system, 60, 85–6 *n* *See also* Astrology, Astronomy, Cosmology.
Punctuation of O_1, value of, v–viii, 187 *n*
Purchas, 34, 314
purchase, 108 *n*.

Q

Quarto of 1590, references to a, 4
Quarto of 1600, references to a, 5
Quarto of 1605/6, 3 *n*.

R

Ralegh, Sir W., 31 *n*., 48, 140 *n*., 147 *n*.
Ramus, *see* Sagundinus
Ray, James K, *see* Tilley
record, 269 *n*.

region of the air, 142 *n*
renied, 116 *n*.
resolve, 74 *n*.
retorqued, 167 *n*.
Richard II, 280 *n*.
Richard III, 79 *n*
Richier, historian, 32–3, 35, 313
Robertson, J. M , 310
Robinson, G , editor, 11–12, 282, 303
References in notes and notes by, 73, 90, 99, 131, 146, 167, 184, 191, 197, 204, 229, 264, 273, 275
Rogers, F , 308
Romeo and Juliet, 95 *n* , 243 *n*
Routledge, edition, 285
Rowe, *Tamerlane*, 62
Rubruquis, 18, 22, 311
runagates, 127 *n*.

S

Sacra-Bosco, T de, 145 *n*
Sagundinus, 33, 35, 181 *n* , 292 *n*., 313
Samarqand, 19, 20–1, 25, 32, 39, 60, 137 *n* , 246 *n* , 258 *n* , 290 *n*., 296 and *n*.
Saunders, C., *Tamerlane the Great*, 15, 62
Schelling, F. E , editor, 285
Schiltberger, T , historian, 18, 19, 22, 23 *n*., 25 *n* , 136 *n*., 139 *n* , 157 *n* , 258 *n* , 264 *n*., 266 *n* , 293 *n* , 295 *n* , 304, 312
Schipper, T. S , 308
Scourge of God, sources of the phrase, 29, 32, 39, 296
Scudder, H , 152
Scythia and Scythians, 69 *n* , 72 *n* , 78 *n*., 154 *n*., 302, 306 *See also under* Tartary, Tartars
Seafaring terms, Marlowe's relative ignorance of, 87 *n*., 117 *n*
Seaton, E , 27, 33 *ns* , 42, 45 *n* , 47 and *ns* , 309 References in notes and notes by, 47, 65, 119, 125, 140, 154, 171, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 192, 194, 199, 201–2, 203, 204, 205–6, 211, 220–1, 221, 229, 235, 235–6, 237, 240, 243, 254, 260, 273
Sebastia, 25, 157 *n* , 293, 295 *n*.
Second part of *Tamburlaine*, relations to first part, 41, 42, 44, 50, 54, 61, 182 *n*.
securities, 157 *n*.
Semiramis, 236 *n*., 263 *n*.
Seneca, 60, 124 *n*., 167 *n*., 223 *n*., 280 *n*.
Shakespeare, 57, 103 *n*., 170 *n*.
Sharaf-al-Din (Sheraf-ed-Din), 297, 312
Shute, J , translator of Cambinus, 27, 33, 35, 289 *n* , 292 *n* , 294 *n* , 313
Sigismund, 41, 181 *n*
silly, 78 *n* , 79 *n*
Silva de varia lection. *See* Mexia
Simpson, P , vi *n*., viii *n*., 311
Smith, Hallet', 12 *n* , 33 *n* , 113 *n* , 140 *n* , 254, 311
Smith, M B , 310
Soldan of Egypt, 40, 65, 77 *n*
Sons of Tamburlaine, 44, 181 *n* , 296 and *n*
Sophocles, 57, 89 *n*
Soul, nature of, 112–13 *n* , 246 *n* , 277 *n* , 279 *n*
Spanish Tragedy, 65
Spelling, of O_1, value of, v–vi. 112 *n* , 150–1 *n*
Spence, L , 119 *n* , 310
Spenser, 76 *n* , 167 *n*., 169 *n* Lines common to *Faery Queene* and *Tamburlaine*, 259 *n*.
Stage-craft, weakness in, 91 *n*
Stage Directions, of O_1, viii, 123 *n*.
Stationers' Register, 6, 67 *n*
Statius, *Achilleid*, 93 *n*.
Stella, Mount, 306
Stroheker, F , 309
Structure of play, 55–7
Suckling, Sir J , reference to *Tamburlaine*, 14
Suez Canal, Marlowe's anticipation of, 275 *n*
sulphur balls, 224 *n*.
Symonds, J A., 285
Syria (Soria), 77 *n*., 181 *n* , 221 *n*. Marlowe's use of two names, 186 *n*.

T

tainted, 196 *n*.
Tamburlaine, *see* Timūr
Tamburlaine, sources of the play, 17–48. Marlowe's treatment of sources, 48–61. Stage history of the play, 61–2. *See also under* Marlowe, Timūr, etc.
Tamerlaine the Great, *see* Saunders
Taming of a Shrew, 86 *n*.
Tannenbaum, S. A , xi, 310
Tanner, T , 15
taratantaras, 244 *n*.

tartar, 247 *n.*
Tartars and Tartary, 18–19, 19–22, 72 *n.* Limited knowledge of in Elizabethan England, 22–3, 24 *n.*, 154 *n.*, 294 *n.*, 304 *n.* Perondinus's picture and Marlowe's, 49–50, 94 *n.* Military genius realized by Europeans, 98 *n.*
Techelles, 44, 65
Tennyson, 235 *n* *Ulysses*, 123 *n.*
Tents, episode of, 29, 37, 139 *n.*, 294 and *n.*, 306, 307
Text, condition of. Indications of alterations, 128 *n* Instance of extreme corruption, 163–4 *n* *See also under* Comic passages, Prose and the collations generally
Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, *see* Ortelius
Theocritus, 129 *n.*, 169 *n.*
theoria, 253 *n.*
Theridamas, 39, 40, 54–5
Thevet, A., 34 *n.*, 36; *Cosmographie Universelle*, 273 *n.*, 294 *n.*, 314
Thorp, W., 310
Tibullus, 169 *n.*
Tilley, M. P., 124, 220, 227, 273, 280, 310
timeless, 280 *n.*
Timūr Khan, accounts of; general, 17, 18–22; Byzantine, 23–6; Clavijo's, 303–4 and *n.*; European, early sixteenth century, 26–30, Fregoso's, 302–3, Mexia's, 30–1, 38–41, 287–97; Perondinus's, 31–2, 38–41; European, late sixteenth century, 32–4; common saga that reached Marlowe, 35–6 and *n.*; westernization of story, 87 *n.* His conquests, 289, 293 Boundaries of his empire, 297, its disintegration, 195 *n.*, 297 His military discipline, 290 and *n.* His siege operations, 119 *n.* Paucity of records, 289 and *n.*, 297. His appearance, 305–6. Marlowe's presentation of the character, 85 *n.*; 78 *n.*, 129 *n.*, 217 *n.*, 272 *n.* *See also under* Marlowe
Title pages of Part I (O_{1-4}), 1–3; of Part II (O_4), 4; for Part II O_{1-3}, *see* Half-title
Tragic perception, in *Tamburlaine*, 50, 56–7
Trebizon, 181 *n.*, 221 *n.*
Tripoly, 126 *n.*
Troilus and Cressida, 96 *n.*, 232 *n.*
Turks, Marlowe's knowledge of, 40, 42–3, 140 *n.*, and treatment of, 125 *n.*, 291–2
Twelfth Night, 121 *n.*

U

Underworld, Marlowe's picture of, 223 *n.*
Usumcasane, character, 65
Usumcasane, Emperor, 297

V

valurous, 81 *n*
Varna, battle of, 33, 41, 43, 183 *n*
Vattier, P., 314
Virgil, Marlowe's knowledge of and possible reminiscences, 52, 60, 85 *n.*, 114 *n.*, 116 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 216 *n.*, 223 *n.*, 224 *n.*, 254 *n.*, 259 *n.*, 263 *n.*, 280 *n*
Vladislaus of Poland, at battle of Varna, 42, 43
Volpone, 259 *n*

W

Wagner, A., on the octavos, 4–5, 5–6, 281–2; editor, 284 *n.*, 285, 286, 308; on sources of *Tamburlaine*, 286, 308. References in notes and notes by, 74, 76, 83, 89, 100, 118, 131, 132, 150, 159, 164, 175, 203, 214, 229, 242, 249, 256, 261
Walsingham, family of, 9–10
Wann, L., 309
Washington, *Navigations* . . , 314
Watkins, W. B. C., 310
wean, 79 *n*
Whetstone, G., xi, 34 *n.*, 36, 37 *n.*, 139, 287, 292, 294 *n.*, 314. Quotation from, 297
White, E., publisher, 67 *n.*
White Library, early *Tamburlaine* octavo in, 3
White, W., printer, 67
Wife of Bajazet, 25 and *n.*, 32, 132 *n.*, 300–1 and *n.* *See also* Zabina
Wife of Timūr, 23, 36, 77–8 *n.* *See also* Zenocrate
Wills, M M., 254
Winter's Tale, 88 *n.*
witty, 104 *n.*
Wood, A., 13

X

Xenophon, Marlowe's debt to, 49
Xerxes, compared with Tamburlaine, 100 *n.*, 118 *n.*, 291, 302

Y

Yale University Dramatic Association, 62, 286
y-sprung, 130 *n.*

Z

Zabina, wife of Bajazet, 65
Zanzibar, Marlowe's account of, 46, 47, 202 *n.*
zenith, 222 *n.*, 233 *n.*
Zenocrate, Marlowe's development of from slight sources, 36–7, 40, 44, 54 *n.*, 56, 65. His treatment of the character, 91 *n.*, 120 *n.*, 152 *n.*, 214 *n.*

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